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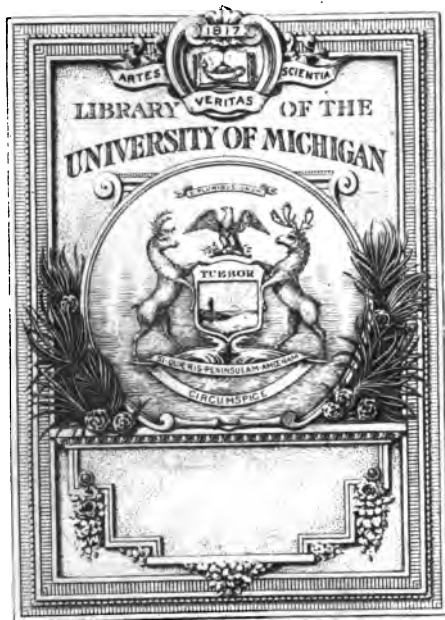
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THE
INTEREST
OF THE
PRINCES
AND
STATES
OF
EUROPE.

The Second Edition with Additions.

By *SLINGSBY BETHEL, Esq.*

LONDON,

Printed by *J. M.* for *John Wickins* at the *White
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PREFACE.

Interest, is a word of several definitions, but that which in Creatures, having reason or sense, is preservation and propagation, is that in a State, which I mean by Interest; and this is either Domestick looking inward, as relating to the particular frame and kind of Government, or Foreign looking outwards, as regarding such alterations abroad; as may be of good or evil consequence to a State; and such counsels, deliberations, or actions, as may improve good, or prevent evil, are according to the Interest of a Nation, and the contrary against it. And taking the words thus, the prosperity, or adversity, if not the life and death of a State, is bound up in the observing or neglecting its Interest.

For as no Country was ever unhappy,

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that followed it, so none ever prospered (except by chance) that forsook or missed it ; and consequently, it is matter of the greatest concernment to a Prince, to study, and make himself Master of it, that in keeping his Counsellors in awe, by his own knowledge and experience, in matters of State, he may have his affairs the better and faithfuller prosecuted ; but in searching for his Interest, he ought to be exceeding careful, of not being misled by former Examples, which are to Politicians, as of old, the Stars to Navigators, rightly understood, the best Guide, and mistaken, the most dangerous.

For Interest in all Countreys is changeable, that which was in one Age, not being always the same in the next, as the Crowns of Spain and France do sufficiently evince. For Spain being by corruption in Counsellors, and Ministers of State, fraud, oppression, and consenage in Officers and Servants, with persecution in the Church, and severity in Government, causing several Revolts, brought at this time low, and into a languish-

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languishing condition, the Interest of the European Princes, is changed from that of being against the House of Austria, and for France, to that of being for It, and against France, the latter being at present, under more than suspicion, that having now got the advantage of Spain, they intend to improve it to an universal Monarchy, as Spain formerly designed.

But as a Prince ought to be studious in discovering of his Interest, so to be solicitous in examining the Integrity of Counsels given him, lest by corrupt Counsellors, he should be put (for private ends) upon designs prejudicial, if not contrary and destructive to the Interest of his Countrey. And because the wisdom or defects of Princes, appears much in their choice of Counsellors and Ministers of State (who under them, are the managers of their Interests) there ought to be in the Election of such, a special Eye to their Principles, as well as abilities, avoiding with care, all avaricious persons, as men, who for advantage, will upon all occasions, forsake

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and desert all fidelity, the chief ingredient of a good Counsellor. For when men have parts without honesty, they are but the greater instruments of mischief; and we find that little more than common parts assisted with integrity, industry, and diligence, have done, and do the greatest things in the world: Nay, that ordinary parts, with such qualifications, do more than the sublimest without them, the art of Government not being so mysterious, as State Monopolists would make it, honesty (as King James used to say) being the best policy, and surely that is the best Government, that provides most for the employment of the Honestest men.

For as no State can flourish, where their Interest is not pursued, so publick Interest will never be the Rule, where Counsellors are not faithful; and when publick Principles do not govern men, private Interest will, and render their Country as Merchandize for the highest Chapman; so that although the Notion, that Interest cannot lye, is true, yet it is not (in Subjects) singly to be trusted.

For

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For since private, worldly, and carnal Interest (which in persons wanting honesty is always mercenary) may be changed by the bribing bounty of other Princes, or States; it is a great Error in those, understanding their Interest, to rely upon their Counsellors, or Officers; without examining, whether their Counsels and Actions are pursuant of, and consonant to their Interest; or yet in great trusts, to presume upon any other qualifications in Counsellors, and Civil and Military Ministers, than either truly religious, or truly honourable moral principles, which cannot change; as private simple Interest, not bottomed upon the one, or the other principle, will surely do according to the greatness of temptations.

And therefore, as upon good or bad Counsellors, and Ministers, depends the happiness or infelicity of a Prince, and State, Sir Walter Rawleigh affirming, that a Commonwealth is more secure where the Prince is not good, than where the Ministers are bad; so they cannot shew more wisdom, than in
signally

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signally rewarding, and encouraging the former, and exemplarily punishing the latter. I know that Counsels are not always to be judged of, according to success, it being possible, that honest and well grounded Counsels may miscarry, and to punish men in such cases, were to discourage the ablest and most virtuous Persons from serving of their Prince or State; but sometimes designs are written in such large characters of selfishness and corruption, the foundation of them being laid in lies and forgeries, as is legible to every impartial Eye; and when such appears, by a true discovery upon inquiry, the Criminals ought to be made examples to posterity.

Formerly the affairs of Christendom were supposed to be chiefly swayed by the two great powers of Austria (wherein Spain is understood) and France: from whom other Princes and States derived their Peace and War, according to the several parties they adhered unto. But now the puissance of the former being so much abated, that it deserves no rank above its Neighbours, France of the two,

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too, remains the only formidable Potentate, of whose greatness, all Princes and States are as much concerned to be jealous, as formerly they were of that of Austria.

For, considering the French King, in relation to France, stored with good Officers, Men, Money, and Ammunition, to his several augmentations gained from all his Neighbours, by conquest, exchange, or purchase (as from Spain, Italy, Germany, Lorraine, and the Spanish Netherlands) giving him free passage into their several Dominions, and to his present Naval strength, increased lately by an * The late Dutch War. unhappy accident *, he is accom-

modated for any Design: his ambition shall prompt him to, ~~at~~ at least, should the sickly and weak young King of Spain die childless, to dispute uncontrollably, his right to all the Countries in Europe belonging to that Crown, as also to contend for the Imperial dignity, should he survive the present Emperor, if he stays till then: and if his aims may be guessed at by the writings of his Subjects,

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jects, which are commonly the transcripts or presages of their Princes sence and mind, he pretends to all the Lands, lying on his side the River Rhein, as belonging to the ancient Kingdom of Austratia, (his supposed inheritance) which caused a learned man of Strasbourg (who suspected their Commonwealth to be strack at) to maintain in writing (some few years past) the Rights of their City against all pretenders. And thus upon the whole, considering France furnished with a King, not wanting high thoughts or activity, less cannot be expected from him, than to design an universal Monarchy, which consequently makes it the Common Interest of all European Princes and States (as they value their own safety) to unite, for the keeping of him within bounds and limits.

And now as England is not the least in the general concern of Europe, and because seated by it self, and divided by the Sea from all other Nations, I shall begin with it.

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Advertisement TO THE READER.

AL L these Discourses save the last, being the result of the observations made by the Author long ago, in the time of his Travels, and writ some Years since: If the Reader shall find any discrepancy therein to the present Times, either in the Age, or Decease of Princes, or other persons, or in some little Change in Territories, Affairs, or Governments, he is desired to impute the same to the Mutations, which have since happened in several Kingdoms and States, and not to the Authors Neglect or oversight, who hath throughout, with all Integrity, endeavoured nothing but

but Truth in matter of Fact. And he doth reasonably hope, that those Alterations which will be found, are not so material, as to lessen the value of the Deductions and Conclusions, which are offered by this Treatise.

THE

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THE

1

THE INTEREST OF ENGLAND STATED.

Holding it necessary in the Discourſing of *England*, to conſider its Domeſtick, and Foreign Intereſt ſeverally; I ſhall obſerve that Method, and handle them diſtinctly, beginning with the firſt.

The Iſle of Great *Britain*, of which *England* is the moſt conſiderable part, and that which is chiefly taken notice of in the World, having the advantage of an Iſland, in being divided from all other Countries, by the Ocean, Narrow and Northern Seas, is not ſubject to thoſe incuſſions that Contiguous Countries are, not being in danger from abroad whiſt its Naval ſtrength is preſerved, by keeping their ſhipping in good repair, and their Marriners encouraged by good uſage: Neither is it fit for Foreign acquiſitions, in regard of the uncertainty of wind and weather, and chargeableneſs of transportation; but contenting themſelves with the bounds that providence hath given them, making it their deſign to improve
B their

their advantage for trade, to increase their greatness at home, is their first Domestick Interest; for as self-defence is the chief interest of every Creature, Natural or Politick, and as without trade, no Nation can be formidable, especially at Sea, nor able to maintain a sufficient Naval guard, or defend themselves against their powerful Neighbours; so Trade must be the principal interest of *England*.

And this Nature, seems to admonish them unto, prohibiting their affecting Foreign Conquests, by placing them with advantages as they are an Island, First, for preservation, and without much for augmentation.

Secondly, for viewing the actions of their Neighbours, and qualifying them with might and strength sufficient to render them Arbitrators in their differences.

And thirdly, for advancing both their Home, and Foreign Traffick, in endowing them with Natural helps for Trade beyond all other Countries: As with plenty of staple Commodities, incompalling them with profitable and rich Seas, convenient and safe Havens and Bays, bold Coasts, Rivers and good Ports, all affording matter of encouragement for Foreign Commerce, incomparable means in their many Harbours for increasing their Navigation, and great invitations to strangers to make use of these advantages in trading with the Country.

And yet besides these Natural helps, *England* hath further the advantage of all other Countries, in some customs and practices: As in that of breeding the younger Sons of Gentlemen, and sometimes of the Nobility, to the Ministry, Law, Trade, and Physick, without prejudice to their Gentility, their

their Heralds not requiring so much as any re-
 stauration in such Cases; although it frequently
 falls out, that Gentlemen, during their Apprenti-
 ships to Trades, come, by the death of their Elder
 Brothers, to be Baronets, and sometimes Barons.
 In which particular, *England* may well be said to
 come nearest unto antient Prudence, and right
 Reason, of all other Nations. For if no Country
 can be rich or flourish without Trade, as indispu-
 tably it cannot, nor be more or less considerable,
 but according to the proportion it hath of Com-
 merce; and that antiently men were esteemed,
 honoured and dignified according to the benefit
 and commodity their Country had received by
 them; the Traders of a Nation ought to be most
 encouraged, and Trade counted the most honour-
 able of all professions.

Secondly, by their greatest Nobility marrying
 with all degrees, where fortunes answer their
 qualities.

Thirdly, in his Majesties Prerogative, for dig-
 nifying men of acquired Estates, as he sees cause.

And fourthly, in that the single possession of
 Estates, renders in reputation the owners of them
 Gentlemen, all being vast benefits to the Nation,
 (which other Countries are strangers unto) in pre-
 venting idleness in their numerous Gentry, and
 encouraging industry in all sorts of people. In
Germany, Denmark, Sweden, and Poland, it is
 esteemed below the quality of a Gentleman, to
 be bred to either Trade, Law, Ministry, or Phy-
 sick; (except that among the Papists, some are
 bred to the Church to get great Estates, that lea-
 ving no known posterity, they may thereby ad-
 vance their Families, as they many times do in

Germany, Italy, and other places.) Neither will the greatest fortunes tempt them to marry into the Families of any of these Callings, they chusing to live miserably, as many of them do, rather than to match under their degree, or at least, not into such, as they esteem noble.

And indeed, they cannot well do otherwise, without danger of degradation, one of the reasons for the deposition of *Errick King of Sweden*, Uncle to *Gustavus Adolphus*, being the undervaluing himself in his marriage; and if the Emperor, or *Northern Kings*, confer honours upon any of their Subjects, not of antient descent, they seldome last longer in esteem, than the first Generation, the Families of these Countries being so stated, as makes it almost impossible, upon any account to introduce a new lasting Race of Gentility, save that in *Sweden* they have in these latter ages allowed a general command in their Armies, the faithful and prudent discharging the employment of an Ambassador extraordinary, or the election into the Senate, (which consists of 40 persons) to be a good original of new Nobility or Gentry.

In the *United Netherlands*, the Gentlemen are much upon the same punctilio's, except that in Marriage (for good fortunes) they would mix; but that the trading party, not valuing Gentility without proportionable Estates, seldome, or never, willingly do it. And from hence it is (in a great part) that *Gelderland*, and *Overyssel*, two Provinces that abound in number of Gentry, are so poor, whilst *Holland*, *Zeland*, and *Friesland*, (the first, and last, having few antient Gentry, and the second, none but the Prince of *Orange*) are so rich.

France

France is not so strictly tyed up by these rules, as the preceeding Countreys are, their Nobility marrying any where for money, as the Nieces of the last great Cardinal shews; besides that they allow of Estates got by Trade, to be laudable Foundations for new raised Families, in both which principles they are surely wise, and thrive the better, whilest other Countreys are kept low by their contrary Practices; for were it not for the benefit that that Country reaps by the encouragement which is given there unto Trade, it were impossible for them to subsist under their great burthens; but no people comes so near the *English*, in the chief of these circumstances, as the wise *Venetians*, *Genouesers*, *Lucefers*, and the *Florentines*, who all allowing the exercise of Traffick in their Nobility and Gentry, reap the benefit of such Prudence, as appears in the three first exceeding their Neighbours much, in prosperity and wealth, and the Prince and people of the last, being abundantly the better by it; for were it not for their principle of Commerce, encouraged by some Liberty in Conscience, connived at in *Leghorne* (the only Port-Town of Trade under that Prince) the people would be as poor, as they are thin, not able to live under the severity of that Government. But if these instances be not sufficient to prove the profit that accreus unto a Countrey by a trading Gentry, there needs no further travelling for demonstration, than *England*, where before the reformation of Religion, that Gentlemen had idle Convents to put their younger Sons into, Trade was there so small, that the Customs amounted not to 10000 *l. per an.* whereas they are

now,

now, or have been lately, more than fifty times as much ; which proves,

First, the advantage that Trade brings both to King and People ;

And Secondly, that Trade hath been much increased, by taking younger Brothers off from their sloathful way of living, and applying them with their Patrimonies to Trade and Commerce. The experience of this may reprove those who both

** State of Eng- in * discourse, and writing, plead
land, pag. 434, for the vain ancient custom of Idle-
435, 436. ness, in the younger Brothers of*

*England, as if they preferred being
their eldest Brothers Servants, with the privi-
ledge of filling up the lower end of their Tables,
before the present laudable practice, and incum-
bent duty of industry, inabling them to live in e-
quality with their eldest Brothers.*

And surely, it is the glory, and not the shame of *England* (as our new pretenders to Politicks would have it) that by Commerce they have made themselves so formidable in the World, whilst all other *Northern* Countreys (the United *Netherlands* as to their Gentry not excepted) by their superstitious adhering to their old customs, are so inconsiderable. And certain it is, that *Eng-land* could not have had those great things to have boasted of at Sea, as now they have ; nor could they stand before their Neighbours, were it not for Traffick, which is the only thing that makes a Countrey rich, — Law, and Physick, * by great Fees, and corrupt practice, having a great share in impoverishing this Nation, but none in the enriching of it, fees to both Professions being in all other Countries very moderate, compared with
England :

England: a Physitian, in no other place, having for a visit above 18*d. star.* except at *Venice*, where it is 2*s.* 6*d.* and in some places, as at *Newport*, and *Lisle*, in *Flanders*, &c. but 6*d.* and even at *Amsterdam*, and at *Antwerpen*, the first equal to any place for wealth, and the latter next considerable, not above 12 Stivers, (by the richest Citizens, and half as much by the lower sort) which is about 13*d.* and Lawyers 2*s.* 6*d.* for their opinion, and as much an hour, for a business that requires long consultation and work, much of their pleading being cast into that price; so that *England* may be reckoned to exceed in their fees to both professions, from 10. to 20. times the rates of other Countreys. But if the benefit of Commerce be not sufficient to convince the Enemies of Trading Gentlemen, peradventure the impossibility of reducing the Gentry and Nobility of *England*, to the mode of other Countreys, without utter ruine to them, may do it, and therefore they may do well to consider, that to answer other Countries in their Rules,

First, All the Families of the Gentry must be so stated, as that no way (not even by desert) may be left for increasing the number of them.

Secondly, None descended from them, either Males or Females, must marry any but such as are of those Families; whereas with us a Yeoman, or one who is no Gentleman, marrying one that is a Baroness by Inheritance, the eldest Son of such a Bed inherits all the Titles descended upon his Mother from her Ancestors.

Thirdly, None of their Sons must be bred to any Callings, either the Ministry, Law, or Physick; nay, nor be Court-Officers, except such as

they account Noble : (which are not many, Secretaries not being in that number) they reckoning all Callings a debasement of Gentility, as well as Trade; and he that marries with the Daughter of any person of a Calling, to deserve the punishment of degradation; And therefore, should Trade be maintained in *England*, in such a way, as the riches got by it would remain in the Trading party, the Gentry would consequently be poor, compared with the Trading Families; and as honour and respect will follow Estates, so the Gentry would be little regarded, whilst the Traders would carry away all Interest and esteem in their Countries, as the Trading-Families of *Holland* do at present, from the poor Gentry of *Gelderland* and *Overysfel*, two Provinces of the United *Netherlands*.

But if these new Statists shall still desire the want of Trade, with poverty, rather than riches, with the practice of that they call the Debasement of Gentility, they ought farther to consider, that the Case of *England* is not the same with other Northern Nations; for *Denmark*, *Sweden*, and *Poland*, being all upon the same Principle, of despising Trade in their Gentry, are alike poor, wanting Commerce, and so under the less danger one of another: But *England*, having rich and potent Neighbours, Trade is absolutely necessary for their preservation, in rendring them equal in power, both at Sea and Land, to their great and opulent emulators; so that in true *English*, they that plead for less plenty in the People of *England*, do no less in effect (though in Charity I will hope they think not so) than argue for exposing them as a prey to their Enemies.

But these principles are not strange in them, who
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in pleading for keeping the people low, seem to have lost all Natural affection to their Countrey, in accusing the Commons (by which I suppose is meant the Yeomandry of *England*, who, without ostentation, may be called the best of their kind in the World, the Peasants of other Countries being Brutes in Religion, good Nature and Civility, compared to them) of being the coursest Bran, and the worst of People, &c. saying, they are so distastful to their Gentry, that they wish their Countrey less plentiful, or more burthened with Taxes, as the way to refine the manners of the Common people.

State of England, pag. 60, 61, 62.

But although the Competitors with *England* in Trade, may be glad of having a Confession of Pride, Insolence, and ill Conditions in the *English*, from one of themselves, to make use of abroad, for their own advantage, and to the prejudice of the *English* Nation; yet if it be believed by any that know *England*, they must have changed their observations of it, that people having never lain under such a censure untill now, that it is untruly, maliciously, and imprudently clapped upon them, by, I may say, a degenerate Countrey-man, who, in his reproaches, sheweth little of that natural affection, that every one oweth to the Land of their Nativity, nor suitableness to the Care his Majesty and Council take for promoting Trade, by several Councils appointed to that end: but what use soever Foreigners may make of these accusations against the *English* Traders and Merchants in other Countreys, I suppose the new Philosophy of Poverty, and the trans-plantation of all Non-Conformists,

State of England.

called

called the Sons of *Belial*, (the ready way to penury) being best for a Nation, will have but few Disciples; for though all is thought to be made good, by accusing the People of *England* of want of that humble respect and awful reverence to the Nobility, Gentry, and Clergy, that is due to them, those to whom the Commons of *England* are not strangers, know that they are not wanting in good nature, or due observance to any of the three Orders, where there is Justice, and not Oppression, in the two first, nor Cruelty, Ignorance, Profaneness, or Debauchery in the last; for although Greatness may procure Fear, nothing but Virtue, Honesty, and Justice, can Love, and true Reverence. It may well be questioned, who it is, that the men of these principles aim to gratify by them? for nothing can be more prejudicial to his Majesty, than publickly to maintain that Plenty in his people, is inconsistent with peace and good Order in his Government, or that reducing the people to a complaining condition, is the way to make them happy, as this Gentleman insinuates.

This seeming digression is necessitated, for Trade being the true and chief intrinsic Interest of *England*, without which it cannot subsist, thus much could not well be avoided, in the making out, that as well by some Constitutions and Customs, as by its Native Commodities and Conveniences, it so far excels all other Kingdoms and Common-wealths in worldly advantages; that Providence may be said to have left nothing more for the people of *England* to do, in order to their earthly felicity, than desiring of it; the matter of Trade being naturally so prepared and fitted for them, that it may even be a reproach to them, not
to

to advance Trade, though no great glory to do it; nothing, except some accidents extraordinary, or violent obstructions, (as imposing upon Conscience, &c.) or want of good Laws, or the execution of them, being capable of hindering the increase of it.

And now, as from the growth of Trade there doth naturally arise, not alone riches to the Subject, rendring a Nation considerable, but also increase of revenue, and therein power and strength to the Sovereign; so it is the undoubted Interest of his Majesty, to advance and promote Trade, by removing all obstructions, and giving it all manner of incouragement.

As First, By lessening the over-great impositions upon Native Commodities, and upon such as are necessarily imported to be manufactured in *England*, or to be again transported.

Secondly, By causing the Native Commodities to be faithfully and truly made, and ordered.

Thirdly, By laying all Companies open, or at least, by leaving them free, for all to come into them that please, without fines, more than a small acknowledgment, tying them in such case, from burthening their own Manufactures with Taxes, as they usually do for the raising money to spend profusely and wantonly. What objections may be made against this general rule, in reference to the *East-India's* Joynt-Stock, I know not; but this I am sure may be said for it, that the *Hollanders*, driving their *East-India* Trade by a Joynt-Stock, is no argument for *England* to do the same: for they having by the publick purse of the Company, purchased and conquered several Countreys and petty Kingdoms, which ingageth them often in Wars
with

with their Neighbours, and necessitateth them to keep up a standing Militia of 30 or 40000 men, with many Garrisons, and 100 or more Ships, equipped as well for Men of War at Sea, as for Merchants use; the carrying on of such a Government, and defraying the charge of it, is no otherwise feasible, than by a Society and Joynt-Stock, the maintaining of their propriety being impracticable by an open Trade; but the case not being the same with *England*, they having nothing in propriety, save the insignificant Castle of *St. George*, upon the Coast of *Cormandel*, and the little Island of *Bombe*, given them lately by the King, their Trade being all by Factories, there is not that reason nor necessity upon them, for a Joynt-Stock, as upon *Holland*: and Societies, in restraining the number both of Buyers of the Native, and Sellers of Foreign Commodities, must consequently tend to the abating the price of the first, and enhancing the rate of the latter, nothing being more plain to reason, than that the fewer buyers of Native Commodities, the cheaper they must be, as the fewer sellers of Foreign, the dearer they must be; and that which abateth the price of Native Commodities, and raiseth the price of Foreign, must be against the Interest of a Nation: and therefore the *Netherlanders*, who certainly understand the Interest of Trade, equal to any people living, though by making the Interest of Trade, matter of State, they have an eye of regulation upon it, yet admit of no restraining Companies, as in *England*, except in their *East* and *West-India* Trades, where they have great possessions in propriety.

Fourthly, By carefully protecting Merchants
abroad,

abroad, from the wrongs and injuries of other Nations.

Fifthly, By making the transferring Bills of debt good in Law, it being a great advantage to Traders (especially to young men of small Stocks) to be able to supply themselves with money, by the sale of their own Bills of Debt.

Sixthly, By constituting a Court Merchant, after the example of other Countreys, to prevent tedious and chargeable Sutes in Law, taking men off from their business, and in making the advancement and protection of Trade, matter of State.

Seventhly, By having Registers of all Real Estates, as is profitably practised in other Countries, and in this, within the Mannor of *Taunton Dean*, which in a natural way, will abate the Interest of money, and make Purchases certain; for it is no little prejudice and blemish to *England*, that of all the Countries in *Europe*, there is none, where Purchasers, or Lenders of mony upon Land, are upon such uncertainty in their dealings, as in *England*.

Eighthly, By taking away all priviledges (except of Parliament) from persons and places, tending to the defrauding Creditors of their debts, and extending the Statute of Bankrupts against all persons not Trading, as well as Traders, it being but equal Justice, that all men should be alike liable to the payment of their debts.

Ninthly, Banks (not Bankers, but) such as are in use at *Venice*, *Amsterdam*, and *Hamburg*, where the severall States are security, keeping particular accounts of *Cash*, for all men desiring it, are of great advantage to Merchants and Traders, in securing their monies from many casualties, and making

making receipts and payments speedy and easie; besides, so certain, without the danger of losing acquittances, or by death, or otherwise to be in want of Witnesses, as takes away all occasions of suits about them, Bank-accounts being allowed for undeniable testimonies in Law; but of these, I confess there are no thriving and flourishing examples, save under Republicks.

Tenthly, The making Free Ports (which *England* of all Countries in *Europe*, is most proper for) giving liberty to Strangers, as well as Natives, upon payment of a small duty, to keep Magazins of goods ready for transportation to other Countries, according to the encouragement of Markets abroad, are great increasers of Trade and Navigation, and so of riches; as appears, not only by *Holland*, which is a Common-wealth, but also by *St. Maloes*, under the Monarchy of *France*, and *Leghorn*, under that of *Tuscany*; the first, for its bigness, which contains but thirty six Acres of ground, being the richest City in *France*; and the latter, the only place in that Princes Dominions, which, compared to former times, can truly be said to flourish.

Eleventhly, Making business at the several Offices for Custom and Excise, and in all other places, as easie, and as little vexatious as may be, in employing such persons of honesty, integrity, and discretion, as will not abuse their trusts, no more in insolency than falseness, is a great encouragement to Traders; as also, making passing in and out of the Countrey by Strangers and Travellers, untroublesome, is a motive and inducement to them, to satisfy their curiosity in visiting the Kingdom, and spending their money in it.

For

For to object, that the incivilities travellers meet with in going in, and coming out of *France*, hinders no resort thither, is more than can be proved; besides that, admit it is not, yet the like usage in any other Country would be a prejudice to it, and would be surely so to *France*, were it not the humour at present of this giddy Age, to run a madding after them; and certainly, the facility that is in doing business in *Holland*, and the unmolested egress and regress that Strangers and Travellers meet with there, is a great benefit to them.

Twelfthly, Would the Trading Corporations chuse after the example of *London*, and according to their own Interests, and reason of their institution, their members for Parliament out of themselves, the Interest of Trade would probably be better understood, and faithfuller prosecuted than it is; and it cannot but be a prejudice to Commerce, that they generally send Courtiers, Country-Gentlemen, or their Recorders, to Parliament, who will be sure to prefer their particular Interest before that of Trade, it being natural to all men to seek their own profit, before that of others.

Thirteenthly, As *England* hath some beneficial Customs, which other Countries are strangers unto, so it hath others, as prejudicial, not known to Foreign Governments; as the great expences of Corporations, undoing many Citizens and Townsmen; a Freeman of *York*, or *Southampton*, not being able to go through all their Offices, according to Custom and expectation, in the first, under seven or eight hundred pound; and the latter, six or seven hundred; which may well be judged

judged one cause, why *Tork* is so poor, and the other thrives no better; and the like observation may be made of the most of the other Corporations: The great charge of Sheriffs of the Counties hath decayed, if not ruined many Families, and the expence of Barristers, at their Readings, is a provocation to them, to increase their sharking, and growing upon the people; all which bad effects are to be wished were remedied, so far as taking away these unnecessary expences will do it: And even *London* is not herein to be excused.

For first, Whereas nothing tends more to the advancement of a people, than living under wise and honest Governours, the charge of their Sheriffs will for ever (so long as that expence is continued) necessitate the having an Eye in their Elections, more to Wealth than Virtue. And *Amsterdam* makes good this assertion; for as in the choice of their Magistrates, Merit is chiefly aimed at, kindred and riches having little influence; so they reap the benefit of such prudence in being best governed of all those Cities, and flourishing beyond compare.

Secondly, their levying money upon particular persons, by chusing such for Sheriffs, as they presume have no Estates to hold, and must therefore Fine at near the twentieth part of what they are worth, which may be repeated once a Year, so long as the parties live, and cannot swear not to be worth ten thousand pounds, is an unequal way of raising money; some escaping all their days, that have two or three times the Estates of those that are forced to Fine: and to cure this evil, the best way (as I conceive) is by Sheriffs laying

laying down the profuse and unnecessary expences of their Shrievalties, according to the example of the Countries, it being a solecism in politics, not practised any where but in *England*, that whilst some by Offices of little attendance and service, get vast Estates, others by Offices of drudgery, are by great expences ruined.

And thirdly, the City hath one rule, the reason of which is not to be understood, (*viz.*) that whereas one chosen Sheriff before Alderman, may free himself by making Oath that he is not worth ten thousand pounds, yet if first chosen Alderman, he is deprived of that liberty, as to that Magistracy, and when afterwards he comes to be chosen Sheriff, must hold, Fine, or go to Prison, though not worth a Groat, as hath often fallen out.

But besides this, the administration of some of the Fraternities in *London*, stand in more need of reformation than that of the City; for whereas the Primitive Institution of most of them, was for regulating and improving mechanical Arts and Mysteries, now by mixing in the same Societies the more generous and free Trades and Callings, the original reason of their Incorporations is totally lost, many of the Trades, of which the Companies bear the name, not being looked after, nor indeed any thing else to speak of, besides managing their Revenues, and providing for eating and drinking: For the maintenance of which they are often very burthensom to men in years of mean Estates, as well as to young Traders of small beginnings, by imposing upon them greater Fines for their Liveries, (not allowing the Plea of inability, as their Charter obligeth) vain unnecessary

necessary Feasts, and not holding of Offices, than they are well able to bear, or indeed holds any proportion with the charge of the Offices, the Fines being in some Companies four times as much as the charge of the Offices comes to; whereas other Corporations make their fines, not above a fourth, or fifth part of the charge of the Office, as in *London*, for the fine of a Sheriff, &c. that chusing such, as they suppose will not or upon several accounts cannot hold, they may have the benefit of such unreasonable penalties, to which men submit, not only from Ignorance of the Charter of the Company, but also as not being able to contest with the Purse of the Fellowship, or be at the charge of a special Verdict, or of bringing the matter before all the Judges in the Chequer-Chamber, where, in such Case, many of their Ordinances and practices would be found contrary to *Magna Charta*, and Common Justice: for for private men to try their right by a Jury of Citizens, who have born the like charge themselves, they are sure to have it given against them; and for the Companies, it being natural for men to desire that others should run the Gantlop as themselves have done, and to maintain their Arbitrary proceedings herein, they oblige their Members by Oath at their admissions into their Companies to submit to their Orders, (though never so unreasonable or illegal), and then afterwards press Obedience upon the account of Conscience; and these oppressions are great hindrances to the flourishing of this famous City, which I speak not from hear-say, but in some measure from experience, recommending the consideration hereof unto Authority for regulation. For
as

as taking away the cause, the effect will cease, so the regulating and improving Mechanical arts and mysteries, being the reason assigned for some Incorporations, giving them power to that end to make Ordinances and levy money; when the end is not pursued, in putting those ordinances in execution, the legalitie, as well as equitie, of their Patent and ordinances made there upon, may well be judged to cease.

For I am not of their opinion, who think popular Feasting and good Fellowship, called Hospitality, to be the Interest of the Nation, because it consumes the growth of the Country; but on the contrary, that it is altogether against it: For besides the provoking of the Judgments of God by such inordinate living, Excess weakens mens bodies, spends vainly their time, dulls their wits, and makes them unfit for action and business; which is the chief advancer of any Government; and to supply the want of people in any Land, by a riotous wasting the growth of it, is at best but a bad effect of a bad cause, and against that rule which forbids doing evil that good may come of it; and therefore, the true Interest of any Country is, by immunities, priviledges, and liberty of Conscience, so to encourage, and increase the number of people, as they may rather be (in a sober way of living) too many, than too few for their provisions: and we do find, that in former times, when Hospitality was in *England* much greater than at present, and that merely in the expence of their own provisions, without *French Dishes*, or touch of either *Spanish* or *French Wines*, the Country was poor to what it now is; and that it hath been the encrease of the Trade

and People of the Nation by Liberty and Privileges, indulging tender Consciences, that hath advanced them. And (as to the retrenching of expences) this seems to be agreeable to the principles of that wise and great Statesman, Sir *Walter Raleigh*, who saith, that taking away all superfluous charges and expences, as well in Hospitality, as in lessening the Fees, Allowances, and Wages of Ministers of little necessity, as also of Penfions, Rewards, Entertainments, and Donaries, to be a laudable parsimony, used by the *Romans*, and other well governed States.

But, fourteenthly, imposing upon Conscience in matters of Religion, is a mischief unto Trade, transcending all others whatsoever; for if the Traders and Manufacturers be forced to fly their Countries, or withdraw their stocks, by vexatious prosecutions, the having natural Commodities in a Country, or no great impositions upon them, will signifie little to the Prince or people, and therefore Liberty of Conscience is not only the Common Interest of all the Nation, but especially of his Majesty, in that

First, By it he obligeth all his Subjects equally to him, no man having just cause to be offended at another mans liberty, since he enjoys the same himself; and more particularly, he obligeth all the Non-Conformists to him, who can have no other Interest than his, that in grace and favour gives them Liberty; securing thereby, in an especial manner, all the several perswasions, from agreeing upon any thing to the prejudice of their Common friend; whereas the Papists have, as others may have, other Interests.

And were it in the power of man (as it is the
Pre-

Prerogative of God alone) to force a belief or disbelief in matters controversial, it were not (to speak politically) the Moral interest of his Majesty to make all his Protestant Subjects (who own no other head than himself, and who differ only in Circumstantials) to be of one mind in Religion, but on the contrary, to keep them divided in opinions as checks upon each other. For as antiently in times of Popery, when there was no difference about the worship of God, this Kingdom was not without continual troubles and irruptions in State and Government; so were not the violent Church party kept now in awe by a contrary interest; and that they had not Non-Conformists to exercise their minds, and vent their choler upon, they might probably (as in former times) soon prove mutinous.

And as the variety of humours and Nations in *Hannibals* Army were reckoned to tend much to the obedience of it (each being spies upon the other) so the like benefit may be expected from the cherishing and maintaining of the Non-Conformists in *England*. And, although a Prince arrived to that height which is above Envy, and all fear from abroad, may sometimes adventure in imposing in matters of Religion, it is not in any kind excusable in them that are not in such a condition, but that stand in need, in reference to the potency of their Neighbours, of the hearts of all their people, especially in this age, when the large experience the World hath had of the unsuccessfulness and evil of it, hath made (even) in the greatest Potentates, a general abatement therein, and now, when it is too late, they grow weary of their rigour: The last *Pope*, as is affirmed,

ed, having dissuaded the *French* King from attempting *Geneva*, when he thought to have obliged the Church of *Rome*, by reducing of it.

And oh that *England*, whilst they have time, would be warned by the miseries of others, to avoid the rock they have split upon. Had the former Kings of *Spain* used in any degree the lenity that that Crown at present practiseth in their Netherlands, where now a known Protestant may obtain his freedom of several Cities, without having his Religion enquired into, as at *Bruges*, *Newport*, &c. those Countries had not been so thin of people, nor *Spain* so depopulated as they are, nor yet the whole House of *Austria* so low, as it now seems to be. Nay, had the Pope made formerly so little use of his Inquisition as he doth at this time, few places being less inquisitive after mens belief, than *Rome*, where one may be as good as he will, and spend all his days without being proceeded against, either Ecclesiastically or Civilly, for not coming to their Churches, *Italy* had had more people than it hath, and been more considerable than it is: The *French* could never advance by Massacres, of which they are reckoned to have had thirty or forty, at several times, in several places; nor yet get forward in power and greatness, until they laid aside Persecution; confessing as *Lewis* the XIII.

*The History of
the Siege of
Rochel.*

did at the taking of *Rochel*, that although it would rejoyce him to have all his Subjects of the same belief with himself, and that he should use all sweet means possible to draw them to it, yet since the experience of times past had sufficiently made *France* to know, that Religion is not to be planted by the
Sword,

Sword, but (to use his own words) that it is God alone that must incline the heart, and illuminate the understanding with his knowledge; he assured them he would never use Violence in matters of Religion: and to give that King his due; he truly inherited the merciful good Nature of his incomparable Father.

Secondly, it may be concluded to be the Interest of the King and Kingdom of *England*, to grant Liberty of Conscience, because by a general consent of Nations, Liberty in Ceremonies, invented by men, seems to be accounted necessary for the good of humane Society. For I believe I may without boldness affirm, that *England* is singular in prosecuting them, who are one with them in Doctrine, for differing only in Ceremonies, no other Christian Church that I know of, doing the like. In *Germany*, the *Lutherans* have scarce, in any two Cities or Countries, the same Ceremonies; *Nurenburch* and *Leipsig*, having almost as many as the *Papists*, and yet differ in them; *Hamburg* hath fewer, and *Strasburg* none at all; and so it is through all the *Lutheran* Cities and Countries in the Empire, and yet agreeing in Doctrine, their differing in Circumstantials makes no breach of charity amongst them, although at the same Communion I have seen some receive standing, as others have kneeling.

The Pole in that Kingdom, several Popish Ecclesiastical Sovereigns in *Germany*, and the *Venetians* in their Grecian Islands, do all give Liberty of Conscience in Religion, without those fears and jealousies which we groundlessly suggest; and yet the Non-Conformists to the Magistrates belief, are in some of these places, three times the
number

number of the Conformists; and indeed where Liberty of Conscience is given, all cause of mutiny from the Reformed upon the account of Religion must be taken away, they owning no other head than their own natural Prince.

The Church of *Rome* in their using the Inventions of men in the worship of God, seem (their Principles considered) to act rationally, because they pretend to the assistance of an infallible Spirit; but for the Reformed Churches, who do not pretend to any such help, to maintain that the Lord of Heaven and Earth, who is so jealous of his own worship, that under the Law, he severely prohibited the adding to, or diminishing one tittle from what he had commanded, and under the Gospel gave no other Commission than to teach according to what he had commanded, that he hath left his Worship to the inventions of corrupt frail men, inclinable above all things to superstition and idolatry, and who are by nature endlessly various in their imaginations, sense, and understandings, seems to be irrational, and to accuse Christ of not having been as a Son, so careful of his Church, as *Moses* a Servant was of the Church of God under the Law: for had Christ intended to have left his Church under a negative obedience in worship, making all things lawful that he had not forbidden, the command had been as readily made, to do whatsoever he had not prohibited, as it was to do whatsoever he hath commanded: And that the Church of *Rome*, who pretends to infallibility, should not exact Conformity in Ceremonies, where there is an agreement in Doctrine, as they do not even in *Rome* it self, (where they might force it, without

out prejudice to Trade, having little to obstruct) there being in that City several Popish Churches, differing from one another in Ceremonies, and all abundantly from that properly called the *Roman Church*, and yet agreeing in Doctrine, have publick toleration, without exceptions; and yet that the Church of *England*, who pretends not to infallibility, should to their civil prejudice, be rigid in imposing them upon those that agree with them, not only in Fundamentals, but in all material points of Faith, Worship, and Obedience, with punishment for denial, I cannot conceive the reason, except without Ceremonies to administer matter of employment in punishing tender Consciences, they think they should be without work in any kind adequate to their great Revenues, and that they dread the consequence of uselessness.

The Grecian and Armenian Popish Congregations, &c.

But if this be not the Case, and that they really design no more, than piously to bring the Non-Conformists into their Churches, (as I will hope they do not) I shall (because the wrath of man will never accomplish the righteousness of Christ) humbly recommend unto them, as the most effectual remedy against separation:

First, Where the Parishes are so large, that the Churches cannot receive in some places half, in others not a third or fourth to an eighth part of the Parishioners, as the Churches of *St. Andrews, Sepulchres, St. Giles, and St. Martins in the Fields, &c.* they would be a means of procuring Acts of Parliament for dividing such Parishes, otherwise people cannot be justly blamed for going to other Churches rather than stay at home.

Secondly,

Secondly, To furnish the Parishes with Virtuous as well as able men, fit for the work of the Ministry, for that, where there is a defect in either qualification, hearers will think themselves obliged in duty to God, and excuseable before man in seeking other Teachers; for though a scandalous person may discourse well for an hour in a Pulpit, yet his Life will always do more harm than his Preaching good; Example prevailing more with corrupt nature than Precept.

I have lived in reformed Countries abroad, where he that intends the Ministry, is first heard exercise in private by some of the most able, sober, learned, and judicious of the Church, to the end, that whatsoever should be found amiss in matter, form, affectation in words or gestures, might be reprov'd and reformed, after which he is Licensed to Preach, but not ordained, until according to antient Canons he is called to a Charge, nor then neither, without a Certificate of his sober Life and Conversation; a method, which as it would prevent the contempt of the Clergy (so much complain'd of by that Book, writ by a Conformist, shewing the cause of it) so it would tend much to the preaching the Non-Conformists into, and not out of the publick Churches, as the silly Weekly Sermons to the Jews at *Rome* do them, hardening them in their errors. And this is a care, that may well be thought the proper work of the Governours of a Church, and an employment becoming the greatest of them; for the debauchery and ignorance of the Ecclesiasticks in the Church of *Rome*, &c. may rationally be judg'd the chief reason, why Religion thrives no better, and Atheism grows so fast in the World.

For

For carnal men (as all are such by nature) will not credit a Minister, that teacheth another what he doth not practise himself, but rather from his contrary walking judge Religion a Cheat.

Thirdly, It is a good remedy against Non-Conformity, to follow the Apostles rule, in not imposing any thing in the worship of God but what is necessary, that so none may be kept out of the Church by offensive impositions, as by turning the Communion-Table Altar-wise (Churchmen bowing towards, if not to it) and exacting sitting bare all Sermon time, &c.

The first is directly against the Rubrick, for that the wisdom of our Nation hath ordered the Table to be set in the Body of the Church, or in the Chancel, (implying thereby as shall be most convenient for the Congregation) making it (according to other reformed Churches) a common Table, and not an Altar, and the Minister to stand on the Northside of it, and (so consequently the Table to stand East and West, as in the Temple where the Law is best understood, they will not transgress or invade the legislative power, and yet in opposition to Authority, it is in most places set North and South (to the offence of many) being clapped to the Wall of the East end of the Church, with Rales before it, as if (according to the Church of Rome) it were an Altar and Sacred; which actings contrary to Law, may well be thought to give some encouragement to the Non-Conformists to follow their Examples in other Cases.

There are several other Ceremonies as well as these, which are without and against Law. For it is enacted, That no form or Order of Common-Prayer, administration of Sacraments, Rites

or Ceremonies, shall be openly used in any Church, Chappel, or other publick place, of, or in any Colledge or Hall, in either of the Universities, the Colledges of *Westminster*, *Winchester*, or *Eaton*, or any of them, other than what is prescribed and appointed to be used in and by the said Book, in which Book are no where found several Ceremonies now practised, nor the Order used in some Churches.

And as to that of sitting bare all Sermon time, as it is without Authority, so it is against the practice of all Christian Churches, in antient as well as modern times, and never known in *England* until of late, except in the three last Years of Bishop *Lauds* Dominion, when he was designing the reducement of Religion to Forms, Gestures, Habits and Reverence to Persons and Stone Walls: and this unwarrantable Ceremony keeps (upon several accounts) many out of the Church, as some from weakness of Constitution, no Caps being so good a fence against Cold, in a wide empty Church, as a broad-brim'd Hat, others upon an account of Conscience, as thinking the Ceremony superstitious, and a third sort upon a political account, as not daring to trust the Church with an Arbitrary Power of imposing what Ceremonies they please, fearing that the Countenancing of one Innovation by complying with it, may usher in another (incroachments and breaking down of Fences, being always dangerous, but in some times more than in others) and so leave it uncertain where the Ecclesiastical Itch of Dominion will rest, it being already so far advanced, that in some places it is expected that men should be bare even to the very Walls of a Church,

Church, out of Service or Sermon time; and for warranting a Ceremony contrary to universal practice, and greatest Antiquity, as that is of sitting bare during the Sermon, we ought to have a discovery of new Light from Scripture, lest otherwise we seem arrogantly to accuse former Ages of impiety as well as ignorance, in never using any such pretended decency.

And as all unnecessary things tending to the dividing of a people, and consequently to the breach of Peace and Charity, is impolitic, so distinguishing Ceremonies not Commanded by legal Authority, ought for Peace sake, (as well as a duty incumbent) to be avoided; and if Church-men would according to the decrees of several Councils, apply themselves only to the affairs of the Church, they would find work enough there.

As first in making strict Examination after mens parts, and inquiry after their Lives and Conversations before Ordination, which is so necessary for prevention of separation, that nothing else will be effectual, because Parishioners will take exceptions against their Pastors, if they find them wanting either in Morals or Ministerial Gifts, and will not be satisfied with the care of procuring severe Acts of Parliament for the suppressing of Non-Conformity only to humane Ceremonies, not differing in Doctrine. And if the Physicians who have the care but of our Bodies, will not admit any into their Colledge without a thorough Examination and full satisfaction of their Abilities in their Faculty, with much more reason men ought not to be admitted into the Ministry, who have the care of our highest Concern, without the like tryal.

Secondly,

Secondly, In procuring Acts of Parliament where it is needful, for securing our Religion against Popery, as for preventing Popish Mothers (according to the late if not present practice of the Reformed in *France*) in bringing up their Children (after the Death of their Protestant Fathers) to the Romish Religion as they often do. And also if their power for depriving scandalous Ministers guilty of most enormous crimes, be not sufficient, as some pretend it is not, to procure more, &c.

Thirdly, To promote the like for augmenting scandalous livings and scandalous allowances by Incumbents of pluralities to their under-Curates.

Fourthly, For providing (according to the Example of other Reformed Churches) maintenance for super-annuated Ministers, to the end that such as are qualified for the work of the Ministry, may be admitted to the places of those who from Age or other infirmities, either cannot Officiate, or are made so unfit for their Callings, that instead of instructing their Auditors, they administer nothing but matter of laughter, scorn, and contempt, even to the meanest Capacities of the people, of which I have sometimes been a witness.

Fifthly, For suppressing Popery in such places where Church-Governours have most power, as where they are Lords of Mannors, and have Collegiate Churches with Deans, as at *Rippon* in *Yorkshire*, reducing that Parish, which (according to common fame) hath near two thousand Papists in it, to the example of *Hallifax* and *Bradford*, two Parishes in the same County, remote and furthest from the eye of the Church, where

where the first hath not one Papist, though twenty thousand Communicants, and the latter but one (a silly old man) though it hath ten thousand in it, &c. and this I humbly propose, to the end that the increase of Popery in such places may not reflect upon our Illustrious Church nor its reverend Governours, for I would not be understood in this (which I am led unto by the Civil as well as Ecclesiastical Interest of our Nation) to intend the impeaching or arraigning any thing that is according to Law, or the Ecclesiastical established Government, all such designs being so foreign to my thoughts, that in order to the service of the Church, I humbly offer further to consideration, whether it's not safest to reduce our manner of Worship in all Churches to the exact rule of the Law, lest otherwise the Separatists in many places, when prosecuted for Non-Conformity, should plead Innocency, in that there is no such Church to go to as the Law directs; for unwarrantable additions in the observation of a negative Law, may render the observation as faulty and void as subtraction may do, which I wish may be avoided; because Non-Conformity being nothing but going contrary to the rule established, the members of one Church, are as well Non-Conformists in adding, as the other are in subtracting, and we cannot reasonably blame them for the one, whilst we practise the other our selves; And most of this I have been induced unto by that Book, shewing the cause of the contempt of our Clergy, writ by one of our Church.

Thirdly, Liberty of Conscience to all Protestant Non-Conformists, is the true Interest of King and Kingdom, in that it is absolutely and indispensably

penfably neceffary, for raifing the value of Land, which at prefent is miferably mean and low, and advancing the Trade and Wealth of the Kingdom.

First, Becauſe impoſition upon Conſcience hinders the reſort of Strangers, and ſo the encrease of people, whereof *England* is greatly wanting, coming ſo far ſhort of *Holland* in numbers, (whereby that Province alone, is made more conſiderable than all the other ſix) that whereas they are calculated to have ſix Souls for one Acre of ground, *England*, I fear, hath hardly one for ten: and the riches of *Holland*, under ſuch
Interſt of multitudes, as the proviſions of their
Holland. own Country, are ſaid not to be ſufficient to nourish above an eighth part of their People (all the reſt being ſupplied by the Sea, and Trade with other Countries) argues Plenty of Inhabitants to be a benefit to Trading Countries, and Foreign Conqueſts or Plantations, exhausting men and money, where there is not an overplus of both, a prejudice which ought to be avoided.

Secondly, Impoſition upon Conſcience, drives the ſoberest and moſt induſtrious ſort of Natives into Corners, leaving Trade in too few hands, and to a kind of people that do but rarely mind it; amongſt whom, though there are ſome that get large Eſtates, it is not the thriving of a ſmall number, but diffuſive wealth, that makes a Country rich. And, as moſt of the Corporations in *England* have declined in their flouriſhing condition; ſince many of the ſoberest and publick ſpirited Citizens and Townſmen, have, by the impoſition of Oaths they could not comply with, been barred all ſhare
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in Government, so the influence would have been the same upon the whole Nation, had not His Majesty wisely considered the good of his Kingdom, in expressing his sense for Liberty, and in some kind conniving at it.

And if men, setting aside passion, would but seriously remember, how pernicious quarrels grounded upon differences in matters of Faith, have been to Mankind (of which History affords us plentiful Examples enough to make an honest heart tremble to relate) and ponder the sad consequence of Popish Persecutions in the Deaths (by several brutish ways and torments) of many Millions of Christians in *France, England, Netherlands, Germany, the Alpine Vallies, Italy, Spain, and Ireland*, besides the dreadfull Wars, Confusions, Ruines, and desolations of Countries, that have been upon this account, producing no other effects than the depopulating of the three last, and increasing the number of Dissenters in all the rest, besides the irreparable damage of this Kingdom, in their former Bishops driving the Woollen Manufactures back into the *Netherlands*, (as the King of *Spain* had before driven them into *England*) by Persecution, where they have ever since increased, and where they now remain sad Monuments to this Nation, of the impolitick severity of those times, they could not but be convinced of the vanity and wickedness of such practices, as well as of the civil prejudice they bring to Nations, in destroying of their people, and therein depriving them of the benefit of Industry, thinking charitably of that saying, which was anciently in Vogue, and is still in some places remembered, that when a Bishop is Created, the Devil enters

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into him, and makes him his Executioner; which as it had its original in times of Popery, so it concerns their Bishops only.

And let no man believe, that because the Monarch of *Spain*, and Tyrant of *Rome*, by prohibiting the reading the Old and New Testament, exercising bloody and merciless Persecutions (thereby depopulating their several Countries) have cleared their Dominions of their Protestant Subjects, that therefore without using the like means, the Church of *England* may do the same by their Non-Conformists; for if the exercise of a coercive power over the Consciences of men in matters of Religion, causing poverty and the unpeopling of a Nation, were more to be desired than liberty of dissenting in the Worship of God from Unscriptural Ceremonies, with populousness, and abounding in wealth and riches; yet with the Reformed Religion it is not feasible, because under the light that that brings with it, human inventions can never be imposed in the service of God without encountring opposition: for should the Nation be at once emptied of one whole Generation of Non-Conformists; so long as reading of the Bible is suffered, another will unavoidably (from the discovery it makes) immediately spring up; and for the prevention thereof to follow the Diabolical Doctrine of *Rome*, in prohibiting the use of that word which was given to man by the Spirit of God for his guide and instruction, is not to be done by Protestants, who know that the Apostles did not intend, that those to whom they directed their Epistles should be forbidden the reading of them, *St. Paul* having directed the most of his to all that call upon the name of our Lord Jesus

Jesus Christ, St. James his to the twelve Tribes that are dispersed, St. Peter his first, to the Strangers in several Provinces, and St. John his, to Fathers, Young Men, and Children, with a particular direction to the Elect Lady and her Children.

And beside these instances, there are multitudes of Texts in the Old Testament, enjoining and commanding the reading and searching the Scriptures, as a duty incumbent upon all that fear God: And if it be unlawful to do evil that good may come of it, it is much more unlawful to commit an evil, which carries with it the breaking down the Banks against Idolatry, Atheism, Profaneness and Immorality, to the letting in an inundation of all manner of sin and wickedness, as that manifestly is, of the Popes taking from the people the benefit of the Divine Word; for had not the Devil found him out that Policy, he could never have expunged the second Commandment, introduced that monstrous Doctrine of Transubstantiation, that beneficial Article of Faith, Purgatory, that ridiculous treasure of the Church, supererogation, that impudent prohibition of Meats and Marriages (called by the Apostle the Doctrine of Devils) nor those absurd antick gestures, actions and Ceremonies in the Mass, Administration of the Sacraments, and Discipline of his Church, so much more fit for a Mountebanks Stage than Divine Worship, that did he not keep the people strangers to the word of God, by sealing of it up, his Church (being without Foundation) would soon fall to the ground, the whole Fabrick being supported by nothing but ignorance and interest, the two great Commanders of the World.

of losing the rest; besides that he hath thereby much prejudiced Trade, and lessened his people; for even the Protestant Gentry and Nobility, who, by birth, have great Immunities, and ought not to be imposed upon in matters of Religion, were (lately) some forced to leave their Countries, and others who stayed, to entertain none but Papist Servants in their Families, so that *England* by no kind of treatment of their Papists, can increase the Emperours persecution (which is already so high) of his Protestant Subjects.

The Edict of Nantes granted by Henry IV. 30 April, 1598. and Printed now with the Siege of Rochel.

The Edict of Nantes, confirmed by Lewis XIII. 22 May, 1610. and again 10 Nov. 1615. & by Lewis XIV. 8 July, 1643. confirmed in Parliament, 3 Aug. 1643. & again confirmed by the said Lewis XIV. this present King, 21 May, 1652. and in his Letter to Cromwel, dated 25 May, 1655. about the Waldenses then persecuted by their Prince the Duke of Savoy, he takes occasion exceedingly to magnifie the faithfulness of his Protestant Subjects, & his great obligations to them. Morlands Hist. Page 566.

And for the *French King*, he cannot persecute his Reformed, without breach of the Edict of *Nantes* (their *Magna Charta*) and several other Laws, giving them as good a right to exercise their Religion, as the Papists have for theirs, making them also capable of all Civil offices, privileges, and preferments equal with Papists, and that upon consideration of having been always loyal and faithful to the Crown; so that there is no parity betwixt the *French Kings* Arbitrary breaking of his Laws, against the reason of them, which hath not yet been forfeited, and which where made (with acknowledged gratitude) for the preservation of the reformed, and the King of *England*; with the continued

continued reason of his Laws (witness the Massacre in *Ireland*) his keeping and executing them against his Papists.

But further, those that observe any thing of *France*, must confess, that that King, in matters of Religion, regards no examples of others, or any thing but his own designs, as in his present persecution of his reformed Subjects he may well be judged to aim at the advancing of his reputation with the Church of *Rome*, as a means to help him forward in his aspiring designs; for but few years since, when the Papists were under the most severity in *England*, the Protestants were under most liberty in *France*, and now they enjoy the greatest liberty in *England*; the Reformed are the most persecuted in *France*; but beside these circumstances, it cannot but be of evil consequence, and a lessening unto Sovereignty, to own the having an eye to other Princes in the execution of their Laws, for nothing can be more dishonourable to a Prince, than to be under the awe of Foreign Potentates in his Administration, within his own Dominions; but this Gentleman doth not always ponder what he writes, for when I consider his sharpness against the Presbyterians, *State of England, p. 50, 56, 60.* &c. in *England*, calling them

Mulbrowes, Tares, and the Sons of *Belial*, insinuating the transplantation and extirpation of them, I cannot but wonder he should have so much concern for the Reformed abroad, who are the same with the Presbyterians of *England*, and therefore must judge it to proceed from favour to the Papists, towards whom he so tenderly avoids

all reflections and severity, as if he thought the revolt of a Presbyterian, &c. to Popery, to merit a pardon from transplantation or extirpation, and not from any kindness he can have for the Protestants in other Countries.

Nor do I know how to reconcile his boasting of the transcending Charity of the Church of *England* towards other Churches, with his accusing them of looking upon the Non-Conformists of *England* as Bastards, or making no account of any other Interest in them, than a man makes of the Vermin which breed out of his excrementitious sweat, or those *Ascarides*, which come sometimes in his most uncleanly parts; but for such homely expressions, surely the Church of *England* will not think themselves beholding to him, no more than for rendring them so charitable to those that differ from them both in Doctrine and Discipline, as the Papists do, who are the Church he must mean, and so uncharitable to those that agree with them in all material points of Doctrine, and differ only from them in circumstantial, as the Non-Conformists do.

Secondly, The growth of Popery in *England* ought to be prevented, not only because the Principles of their Jesuites (who of all Orders bear the greatest sway) of good Intentions, Equivocations, Mental Reservations, Probability, and Necessity, &c. and of their Church, that there is no Faith to be kept with Hereticks, render them unfit for honest Conversation, especially for the Society of Protestants, there being no felice against such Principles; but also upon a Moral, Political account, as they are Enemies (compared to the Reformed) to civil prosperity, there being

ing no Popish Country in the World, but were they Protestants, would be more than of double consideration to what they now are, as those that are so now, are so much more rich, great, and formidable, than when they were under Popish Darkness, which proceeds from an unaptness to business, begot in men of that Religion, by the slavery they are in to the Church, and the encouragement given by it to idleness, in the multitudes of their lazy Fraternities, numerous Vagabond Pilgrims, and Holy-days; and where Religion hath no influence upon men, I wish this civil Consideration may: For the truth of this, *Italy* and *Spain*, where they are the greatest Bigots, do evidence; beside, that the same seems to be made good in *England*, in that for one Papist stranger of business, that is in it, there is thought to be fifty Protestants, or more; though, I fear, the difference in the number of strangers of the one and the other Religion, is not much; and the fewer idle and unprofitable persons any Country hath, the more prosperous it must needs be.

Thirdly, Because the vast sums of money that go out of *England*; sent by Papists to such uses as they call pious; for putting young Gentlewomen into Nunneries, and breeding Gentlemens Sons in popish Schools and Universities, with the Popes Revenue gathered by his Penitentiaries and Missionaries, for Indulgences, Dispensations, Tolerations, Pardons and Commutations, with Chimney-money (called *Poor* pence) continued still by some, if not by all the Papists, is a great impoverishing of the Nation, and so a prejudice to Trade, the School at *St. Omers* having seldom
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less than an hundred and twenty *English* Youths, and the Colledge at *Doway*, eighty or more Students, beside their other Schools, Universities, Convents, and Nunneries, scattered over all the Popish Teritories, (founded on purpose to encrease that Interest in *England*, corrupt and pervert their Gentry) which are too many to enumerate.

And I have heard the Popes Collections in *England* Calculated by a Romish Priest, of more than ordinary imployment and intelligence, to amount to a vast sum, a good part whereof is paid out in Salaries, to English titular Popish Church Officers, and Superiours of Orders, which the Pope bath ordinarily lurking in *England*; and although this may peradventure be denied by Papists, who have no reason (though true) to own it, yet if their private and frugal manner and way of living, with their freedom from the charge of publick imployments be considered, it may rationally be concluded, that were they not under some great unknown expence, they could not but exceed their Neighbours abundantly in Wealth, whereas on the contrary, they do not generally increase so much in Estates, as Protestants do, who sometimes have less revenues, and always live more plentifully.

And lastly, Because the multitude of lazy Priests and Jesuites, sent as Emissaries, to seduce Protestants, and encourage Papists in their Errors, are a vast charge to those of that Religion, and in them, to the Nation, without contributing any thing to the good of Mankind: and if the *French* King thinks it his Interest, in order to the rendering himself Protector of the *Romish* Religion,

to suppress his Protestant Subjects, who, by Law, have a right to Liberty of Conscience, equal with the Papists, who own no other Head but their Native King, and who were so faithful to him, that when reduced to the greatest extremities at *Rochel*, and forced to implore the assistance of *England*, yet would never depart from their Allegiance, in putting themselves under *England*, when solicited to it; The King of *England* hath much more reason to think it his Interest, in order to his safety, and making himself Head of the Protestant Party, to suppress the Papists, who own another Head, and so have a Foreign Interest, and who are bred to Principles which lead them to a restless plotting against their Sovereigns, if contrary to them in Religion, never joyning with such but upon design for themselves.

King James his Proclamations, 22 Feb. 1603. and 10 Jan. 1606. and the Preamb. of the Stat. of 35 Eliz. cap. 2.

As Sir *John Temple* in his History of the Rebellion of *Ireland*; well observes, that to his remembrance there was not one Gentleman of Quality in all *Ireland* that was there born and bred a Papist, that at the breaking out of the Rebellion, either took up Arms for the King, or desired to do it, they holding the murder of King and People, Rebellion, or any thing else, which they judge may tend to the propagating of their Religion, lawful; in the case of such as they call Hereticks, as those who have conversed with Papists abroad, where they sometimes speak their hearts, and own their Principles, do know, as well as the Gun Powder Treason, the Massacre in *Ireland*, and the many Plots in Queen *Elizabeth's* days,

days, (which cannot be forgotten) do sufficiently witness.

And that these are their Principles, appears not only by these instances, but also by the writings of their greatest Church-men, who maintain that the Pope hath power to dispence with the Laws of God, in case he judge the observing of them to hinder the doing of a greater good. That if a Prince be (one they call) a Heretick, he may absolve his Subjects from their Obedience to him: And as it is their Doctrine, that Faith is not to be kept with such, so the other is their practice; our own late stories acquainting us, that *Fauq* (Executed for the Gunpowder-Plot) justified at his Death, that horrid and detestable Treason, as good and warrantable by his Religion, denying that he ought any Allegiance to the King, because he held him for an Heretick; and was sorry only that the design took not effect (blasphemously saying, *that God would have concealed it, but the Devil discovered it* :) which words we find not since denied, or blamed by any of their Church.

And what security can a Prince or State receive from a Religion of such Tenents? And for further demonstration, that these Principles are justly charged upon the Roman Church, it is not to be forgotten, that the Pope (whom they call infallible) to the end to recommend (as laudable) unto all his Followers the practice of Massacres and breach of Faith, appointed at *Rome* a Jubilee or solemn Thanksgiving for that at *Paris* (though odious even to Infidels for the Cruelty and faithlesness of it) And sutable hereunto, I have my self heard that unnatural act of *Philip* the Second of *Spain* putting his Eldest Son *Charles* to

to Death (for being only suspected of favouring the Protestants in the *Netherlands*) That not to be parallel'd, bloody, and more than barbarous Massacre in *Ireland*, and the Popes owning of it, by sending his *Nuntio* into that Kingdom to encourage and assist the carrying on of that Rebellion, all justified by Irish Priests and others of that Religion, which I have met with in Foreign Countries.

And that the Papists are instructed from their Cradles in these Barbarisms, I have also reason to believe, knowing it ordinary with them, to confess it lawful before God, to murder Protestants as they are Hereticks: and Dr. *Luther* in his Commentaries upon the *Galatians*, confesseth, that before his Conversion he could have administred Fire and Sword for the burning and destroying of an Heretick, as thinking he should therein have done high service unto God; and further chargeth it upon their whole Church, that they hold they do God good service in killing Hereticks.

And how strange soever this may seem to men of better Principles, ignorant of Popish practices and doctrine, yet it is no more than Sir *John Temple's* History of the Massacre in *Ireland* doth fully make out, in making it appear by the Depositions of several Credible Witnesses, that the inhuman Cruelties of those Heathenish Rebels were so prodigious, as the Primitive Persecutions could not exceed; their Priests giving them the Sacrament upon condition not to spare Man, Woman, or Child, of the Protestant Religion, declaring it as lawful to destroy such as to kill a sheep or a Dog, teaching Popish Children to kill

kill Protestant Children and Popish Landlords to kill their own Protestant Tenants, as they did Popish Tenants to do the same by their Protestant Landlords, and all without regard to Sex or Kindred: and at the Tryal of *Macquire* (a Chief Rebel) it was proved at the Kings-Bench-Bar, that there were no less than one hundred and fifty two thousand Men, Women, and Children, satanically murdered in the first four Months, which number though so great, is far short of Sir *Johns* Calculation, who affirms, that in *Ulster* alone, which is but one of the four Provinces of that Kingdom, there was the same number of Protestants wanting in it; and yet the Massacre was over the whole Nation, which Sir *John* observes, was occasioned by not putting the Laws in Execution against the Popish Clergy, as that which caused the filling of the Kingdom with Priests and Jesuites just before the Rebellion.

And now upon the whole, though I believe the English Nation to be in the general the best conditioned people (freest from jealousies and fears, easiliest cozened with good words, not believing danger untill it be too late) of any in the World, and that therefore there may be some among them of the Romish Religion, who from a natural tenderness to Mankind, cannot bring up their natures to the exercise of the bloody and destroying Principles of their Church; yet as they are all bred to these principles and in the general (especially those in *Ireland*) are the most Bigots to *Rome*, so they want Bowels and good nature towards any of a contrary Religion to them; their Charity reaching at most no further than to those of their own belief, losing sometimes with
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their Religion, all natural affection towards even their nearest Relations remaining Protestants, when themselves have turned Papists, of which I have known the experience.

And as their Priests working upon their blind zeal, do according to their own ambitious and restless Spirits, inflame their Disciples with desires of being uppermost, making them impatient of living under any other condition, so it is the Interest of the Protestants of *England and Ireland*, to be the more jealous of any Power in their Papists, as those whose faithless Principles are not to be trusted, and especially since in contemplation hereof were (I suppose)

made those wise Statutes, En- 35 Eliz. Ch. 2. & 3
Jac. Ch. 5.
nacting that the Popish Recu-

sants shall be restrained to their private Houses in the Country, and not at any time after to pass, or remove above five miles from thence, upon pain of forfeiture for life, of all Lands, Goods, and Chattels; That none of them, convicted, or to be convicted, shall remain within ten miles of *London*, nor come into the Court or House where his Majesty or Heir apparent shall be, nor have in their own Houses, or in the hands or possession of any others, at their disposition, any Arms, Gun-Powder, or Ammunition whatsoever,

And by the Statutes of the 23 *Eliz. Ch. 2. & 3* of *Jac. Ch. 4.* it is High Treason for any one to endeavour to withdraw another from the Established Religion, in design to reconcile him to the Church of *Rome*, as also High Treason in him that is so withdrawn and reconciled to *Rome*.

And by the Book of Thanksgiving appointed for the fifth of *November*, set forth by King *James* and

and the Parliament, it is enjoined to pray upon that day, for the strengthening of the hands of the King and Magistrates of the Land, to cut off with Judgment and Justice, those workers of iniquity the Papists, whose Religion is Rebellion, whose Faith is Faction, whose practice is the murdering of Souls and Bodies, and to root them out of the Confines of the Kingdom; and it is pity this good Prayer made by wise and vertuous men is now left out of the Service-Book, or not practised.

And now, since the Wisdom of the Nation hath judged the Papists so dangerous, it may seem strange, that putting the Laws in execution against the Non-Conformists, should be thought a good reason for the prosecution of them, and be none against the other, of whose dangerous Principles there hath been such large experience.

Some observations here may peradventure be thought strained and new, as that there is a kind of Natural unaptness in the Popish Religion to business, whereas, on the contrary, amongst the Reformed, the greater their zeal, the greater is their inclination to Trade and Industry, as holding Idleness unlawful; but experience in most places makes it good: as in *Spain* and *Italy*, no one City can boast of any great Trade driven by their Natives, the greatest part of their Commerce being carried on by Protestant Strangers, *Amsterdam* alone having more Trade than all the Sea-Towns of *Italy* and *Spain* have, put together: But to come closer to the observation; in *Germany*, even in those Cities where they are Papists, without toleration to any other, there the Reformed may

may be said to carry all the Trade, as at *Cologne*; in other Towns where they are *Lutherans*, with a publick toleration to *Papists*, which is denied to *Calvinists*, there the Reformed carry the Trade clearly from both *Lutherans* and *Papists*, the latter having little, as at *Frankford*, upon the Main. In other places, where the Cities are half *Papists*, half *Lutherans*, without toleration to any other, there the latter have the Trade, as at *Augsburgh*. In *France*, the Reformed, for their number, are the greatest Traders; though that people being looser from the Bishop of *Rome* than *Spain* or *Italy*, are more given to Industry than either of those Nations; but yet, that the Reformed are by much the more Industrious, appears, in that they have no Beggars amongst them, though calculated to exceed three or four Millions of Souls; it having been observed by one that travelled *France* round, and crossed it several ways, that in all his Travels in it, he never met with one Protestant Beggar; and yet the multitudes of Popish, are such, that it hath upon tryal been found, that in going from the City of *Rouen* in *Normandy*, to the Protestants Church (two English miles and an half out of Town) to give every Beggar but that which they call a *double*, (hardly the sixth part of a penny) will cost a *Levis Denar*, which is at least 17 s. sterling.

These instances cannot be denied by any Traveller; that hath been curious to enquire into the condition of these places; and examples are the same in Politicks, as experience is in Naturals. Upon my own observation hercof, being inquisitive after the reason, a person of Quality, and Minister of State to one of the Electors of
E Germany,

Germany, with whom I had the honour to be acquainted, granted the truth of these things, but went no farther for the Reason, than that the Religion of the Reformed was an argument of their Wit, and that their Understandings made them the abler Merchants. To which I shall add this, that as the discovery of false Religions, may be said to be the effect of sense, reason, and understanding, so it is liberty that is the improver of them, no people under slavery, having that ingenuity as when under freedom. The Grecians, who antiently in time of liberty, exceeded all others in general knowledge and depth of Learning, being now under slavery, are a dull, ignorant, barbarous Nation. And the Florentines, who were once famed for acute and pregnant Wits, are now no more so, and at best but equal to the common sort of Italians; for if oppression will make a wise man mad, it may well suspend the genius of a people.

And now upon the whole, since it appears that Trade depends much upon liberty of Conscience, the suggestions against it, either from unexperienced, or concerned persons, are not to be regarded; Gentlemen, bred only in the Country and brought up in a Religion which exacts little from them beside Conformity to humane Ceremonies, with opposition to every thing that is contrary, being tenacious of that which is so pleasing and grateful to frail Nature, are not generally competent Judges of this Interest, nor yet any sort of People, who, having spent their days in studying Books, more than Men or Things, employing themselves more in punishing tender Consciences for not obeying in the Worship of God the Commandments

ments of men, than in the weightiest duties of their Callings, as in suppressing Papists, ignorant, debauched and scandalous Ministers, rendering their Actions thereby to proceed more from Self-Interest, than an enlightened and sincere Conscience, are not in this case against demonstrations to be hearkened unto.

And indeed, it is a work most suitable unto Sovereignty, the Grand Child of *Henry* the Great of *France*, and the large experience of his Majesty in Cases of Religion in other Countries, to surmount all selfish opposition in this matter, for the advancement of his own Interest, and the good of his people, which whatsoever flatterers may suggest to the contrary, are bound up together.

I know that the Enemies to Liberty of Conscience, do impose upon the World an apprehension of danger in it; but the position hath no Foundation in reason, pretexts, or any thing else, save a confident running down of truth for their own advantage, it nowhere appearing, that ever Protestants dissenting from their National Church, having Liberty of Conscience given them, did rise up against their King, or disturbed the quiet of their Country, as those of the *Romish* Church have in all Ages and Nations done. For as the Reformed Religion obligeth its Members to worship God according to his Will revealed in his Word, so keeping good Consciences in that, it teacheth them obedience to their Sovereigns in civil commands.

It is confessed, that the old *Waldenses*, Subjects of the Duke of *Savoy*, have sometimes fled to Arms for defence of themselves, in the exer-

cise of their Religion ; but although the advantages they have often had of their Princes, have been great, yet no sooner was ever Liberty granted them than they laid down Arms, returning again to obedience, in which they alwayes continued, until their Articles were broke, which (contrary to Faith was frequently done: and the like cannot be denied concerning the Protestants of *France*, *Hungary*, and other places, whereas on the contrary, antient and modern Story afford us plentiful relations of those of the *Romish* Religion rising up against their Kings, when they have had full liberty in Religion, and no restraint upon them in their Worship: as who were greater Instruments in the Barons Wars in *England*, against their Kings, and in the changes that followed thereupon, than the Church in time of Popery? were not the many Tragedies, acted antiently in *Scotland*, in such times, when they were all Papists? Did not the *Romish* Catholicks in *France*, notwithstanding theirs was the National Religion, depose and degrade their lawful Sovereign *Henry IV.* the Parliament of *Tholouse*, in his absence, arraigning and condemning him to

*Duke of Rohan his
Memoires.*

death, executing him in his Effigies by Harquebushes; none of which Traiterous and Rebellious usage, did that great and excellent King (Grandfather of His Majesty of *England*) although he recovered all by force of Arms, in the least revenge; by which generous as well as politick carriage, he added to the Conquest of his Country, the Conquest of the hearts of all his people, reconciling at once all the animosities and factious, which had

had been the product of near forty years Civil Wars.

Are they not Papists in *Spain* and *Portugal*, where, in our time, have been so many revolts and mutations, with the deposition or confinement of the present King of *Portugal*? The late Confederates in *Poland* against their King, were all Papists, and of a Country where Popery is the National Religion. The present *French* Kings danger in 1650, &c. was from his Popish, and was delivered chiefly by his Reformed Subjects. The Papists in *Ireland* had (as none can deny) liberty for exercise of their Religion, exceedingly above what the Non-Conformists had at that time, when they committed that not to be parallel'd bloody, and more than barbarous Massacre in the Year 1641. Nay, the steady greatness and quiet of *Sweden*, is of no elder date than since they cast off Popery, pulled down their Bishops, and embraced *Protestantism*, the Church having been until then the occasion of much trouble unto that Kingdom. And none of these particulars being deniable, the Papists cannot without great impudence, boast (as many of them do) of their fidelity to their Princes, accusing the Protestants with want of it, and especially since if these instances were not enough to make good the assertion, that the Protestants are the best, and Papists the worst of Subjects, the like might be observed of every individual Country and Nation in the Christian part of *Europe*, in the times of Popery; but supposing these to be sufficient I shall not give my self any farther trouble upon this point.

Fourthly, As *England* is an Island accommoda-

ted with good Havens, Ports, Harbours, and safe Coasts, for making their Shipping the Walls of it (as they have ever with good reason been esteemed and called). so they ought to look upon the conveniencies that God and nature have therein given them above all other Nations, to be their great benefit, and to hold it the undoubted internal Interest of both King and Kingdom, to make use of such their advantage, in keeping always a sufficient guard at Sea; and that

First, because Foreign Commerce is thereby protected and encouraged, in freeing the Seas from Pirates, and in affording good Convoys against Enemies and the pilfering French.

Secondly, Because such Guards at Sea (beside that they are honourable and render the Nation formidable to their Neighbours) are to *England*, not only as Frontier Garrisons are to other States, but much more, in that, notwithstanding out-Towns, Inroads may be made into a Country, whereas *England* keeping themselves Masters at Sea (which with ease they may do) they are not only above all danger from abroad, but have also thereby the charge and inconvenience of a standing Militia as well spared as Domestick Industry encouraged, by having the Country freed from Land Souldiers, whose idle Callings and rude manners, being (in times of Peace) of ill Example and a burthen to a Nation, prove always obstructors of ingenuity and trade, which is the reason why other Countries, who are not capable of being defended by Sea-Guards only, make use of Frontier Garrisons, keeping their Inlands as free from Souldiers as is possible.

Thirdly, Because Sea imployment being of an
active

active and laborious nature, the spending that money at Sea which other Countries spend on Land Forces, an industrious sort of people, fit and useful for service, as well at Land as Sea, are bred and nourished, instead of Land Souldiers; who are generally of lazy humours and uselesse save only in time of a Domestick War, which can never be feared in a Country under so happy a Constitution and Administration as *England*. Besides as no Oaths, or Arms, can (according to general experience) secure an ill Government, so a good (especially in an Island which cannot be invaded but by Sea, and where they are an overmatch for any Country) stands in no need of either.

Fourthly, Because as it is the undoubted political Interest of all Trading Countries, to countenance and advance by all honourable and honest ways the Reformed Religion, as those of that persuasion are of active and industrious Principles, and to suppress Popery because of their contrary dispositions and breeding; so as the English Seamen having experienced abroad the ridiculousness of Popish Worship, and the Stupidity that is nourished by that Religion in all sorts of their members, especially in their Pilgrims, begging Fryars, and other unprofitable Orders, come thereby to be most averse (if not universally so) of all other Callings to the Church of *Rome*, *England* is the more engaged in their Interest, to endeavour the breeding of them, as a Generation that is for the security of the Kingdom against Strangers, and upon all occasions useful in opposing the dangerous designs of the Papists, and of great service to the Country, in protecting

protecting Foreign Traffick, sparing the charge of Land Souldiers, and preventing in them the ill Example of Idleness.

And Fifthly, Because never any Nation exceeded in Glory and Renown, that was not great at Sea; The *Romans*, *Grecians*, and *Egyptians*, having all in their severall times been more or less great, according to the proportion of their power there. And thus having done with the Domestick Concern of *England*, I come to the Foreign Interest of that Kingdom.

And first, As the Foreign Interest of a Nation looks outward, and in order to its good and preservation, regards the actings and designs of Foreign Princes and States (especially their Neighbours) endeavouring to reduce them to that which may most agree with their own good and safety; so it is the Interest of the King and Kingdom of *England*, to make use of the advantages their strength and situation gives them, in weighing the imperial Powers of Christendom, keeping the Ballance, by adding to, or diminishing from any of them, as best suits with Justice, and their own Interests. And as undoubtedly His Majesty hath done more than any since good Queen *Elizabeth* (if for a short time a sort of people not fit to be remembered did not the same) in hitting upon his true Foreign Interest, in that triple League of which he was the Author, and into which he hath, with so much wisdom and prudence lately entered for opposing all growing greatness by Sea or Land; in the *French*, they being already too potent for their bordering Neighbours; so constantly and effectually to adhere thereunto, in joyning with all others to that end,

and

and particularly with *Spain*, with whom *England* hath a much more profitable Trade than with *France*, is (according to present affairs) the same; For should *France*, by the acquisition of those convenient provinces and Ports of the *Netherlands*, become Competitors with *England* in Trade (to say no worse of them) they would, in a short time, make good Sir *Walter Rawleighs* Character of them, in being false, insolent, and covetous Neighbours.

Sir *Walter Rawleighs*
Cabinet Counsellor.

And as the *French* fomented the War in the Year 1665. betwixt *England* and *Holland*, and then designed clearly and manifestly so far the assistance and encouragement of which party soever should prove the weaker side, as would keep them in an equal ballance, to the end they might destroy each other, and in their fall give them an advantage of increase; the which they did from a wise prospect of the damage it would be to them (in a total defeating their design for an Universal Dominion) to suffer either *England* or *Holland*; and especially the first, to be sole Masters of the Sea; so

First, It concerns *England* to joyn with *Holland* for preventing of the *French* in arriving at the same themselves, because nothing can be more manifest, than that such is their ambition, and that both from their actions, and the writings of their Subjects, though the frustrating of them in it, is yet as easie for *England* and *Holland* resolving upon it (and holding a good and hearty intelligence with each other) to do, as it is for them to desire it.

For the present want the *French* have of Ports in the

the Narrow Seas, and having none very good on this side the *Mediterranean*, save *Brest* in *Britaignie*, (except the new made Haven at *Rochford* upon the River of *Charent*, which is so deep in the Bay of *Biscay*, as is out of all Marine Course; save to their own Country, be a second) renders them obnoxious to a reduction in their Naval strength, (without difficulty) to the devotion and discretion of their Neighbours, and to do it in time, is the general Interest of *Europe*. For should they be suffered to gain the Havens in the *Netherlands*, they would soon contend for the Dominion of the narrow Seas, or should they by the Death of the Young King of *Spain*, become Masters of that Country, and after that consequently of *Portugal*, and so of the Harbours and Ports in both Countries which are good, or by the Rebellious Inclinations of the Papists in *Ireland*, surprize any Sea Towns there, which are yet better, it would then (in a little time) prove a hard task (if not too late) to deal with them. And since nothing can be more clear, than that the *French*, considering that no People or Prince can exceed in greatness that is not great at Sea, and that none can be great there, that is not better accommodated with Ports and Havens than they yet are, do therefore seek to supply themselves elsewhere; *England* and *Holland* are concerned in their Interest to agree together, for preventing of them in such their design and particularly the first, in that the *French* are the only people in all the World, that the English Nation hath cause to be jealous of, all other Countries being incapable of putting them in danger.

For though the *Dutch* have of late in their contests

contests with them, come (by accident) better off than they could well have hoped for, or formerly did; yet experience shewed even then that they are not fit for Land Invasions. And that they can never agree with *France*, whilst they remain a Republick, for a Conquest of *England* (as some will irrationally suggest) may be relied upon; And not only in that they want people for such a design, but also because being a Country that hath as wise men among them as the World affords, they cannot promise themselves any security in a Partnership with a Prince so much too mighty for them as is the *French* King, and therefore we ought not to suffer groundless suggestions to turn us from our true Interest in keeping of them up.

Secondly, Because the ambitious designs of *France*, their present Constitution, and the nature of their Government, requiring a continual standing Land Army, for keeping their oppressed people in awe, that they may thereby be ready for any design, especially for Invading *Spain*, should that sickly King be taken away; that by the payment of their Forces, they may Issue out some part of their vast Revenue, exacted from their miserable Subjects (lest otherwise in few years, all the money in *France* should Center in their publick Coffers) their sometimes Alarming of *England* by drawing towards them with their numerous Field Army, will be of no charge to them, whilst the English will thereby be put upon perpetual expence, in keeping Land Forces on foot, and yet notwithstanding be unsecure, except not suffering the *French* to increase at Sea, but reducing them there to what they were (to look no further back) in 1662. when they had not twenty Ships of War
great

great and small (whereas they have now six or seven times as many, and all much better) the English keep in themselves the Commanding power there, and so free their Country of the Charge and inconvenience of Land Armies.

And the taking down the *French* at Sea, and so preventing our danger from them, may yet with facility be done; for notwithstanding the great noise the number of their Ships make in the World, we are still an over-match for them, and shall be so, until they get more and better Harbours for Navigation than they at present have, for nothing Multiplies Seamen but Foreign Commerce, and nothing that so much, as plenty of good Ports, Havens, and safe Coasts, (of which to the comfort of Christendom *France* is in want) but if we delay bridling their ambition, until they have furnished themselves further with Ports and Havens, they will soon prove too great to be dealt with, and therefore it must be the Interest of *England*, and indispensibly necessary for them, to join (before it be too late) with *Holland* for destroying the *French* in their Naval strength, *New-found-land* Fishery (increased lately to the prejudice of *England*) and their *West-India* Trades, which are their Nurseries for Seamen, and in doing this, *England* will have a treble advantage.

First, In securing themselves against their Invasions and Insolencies, which they have lately had experience of.

Secondly, In retrieving their *New-found-land* Fishery, which the *French* have almost wormed them out of.

And thirdly, In putting a stop (without the Charge of Invading them by Land) to their Conquests,

quests, for by taking away their Trade, their power at Land will be taken away, the first being that which gives life to the latter; and when any Nation not being content with their own Dominions, designs ambitiously, and without provocation against Mankind in general (as by making their glory the occasion of their War it is manifest they do, a reason so sensual and unchristian, as may well alarm all Princes and States against them) they ought to be dealt with as Beasts of prey, in using all just means for disarming of them, and as it is most proper for other Princes and States (who are upon the continent) to undertake them at Land, so for *England* to do it at Sea is their natural Province; and this being done, they may then in Summer with twenty Men of War in the Channel, and eight or ten upon the Coast of *Ireland*, and fewer in Winter, bid defiance to all the World; whereas by any other way they can never be safe; for should the *French* prove once their Masters, or equals at Sea, *England* would not in any kind be able to keep a standing Land Army great enough, to defend all the Coasts round their three kingdoms of *England*, *Scotland*, and *Ireland*, but must in such Case be at the devotion of the *French*.

And when any other way of safety to our Nation, than by bringing down the *French* at Sea is made out, I shall readily confess my error, but until then I cannot without great anxiety of mind remember our danger from them, for that I cannot apprehend any reason that that Nation can have now more than in former Ages, for increasing (at so grand an expence) their men of War to so great a number, other than in design against
England

Trade, by going cheaper to Foreign Markets than we can, in so much, that if we do not out them there by force, they will us in a little time by underselling, and then we shall not only lose our best Nursery for Seamen, but which is most mischievous, make our loss such a gain to our malicious and implacable Enemies, as may render them our equals, if not Masters at Sea; for in this Fishery alone, they are reckoned to employ every Summer near thirty thousand men, whereof five or six thousand become Yearly by that Trade new-bred Mariners, and herein they already out-go *England* one third at least, though but a few years since they were Pedlars to them in that Fishery. And besides this, they begin likewise to improve in the *Greenland Trade*, in which if they proceed it will tend mightily to the increasing of their Mariners, and so help them in their design for the dominion of the Seas, which is hardly to be prevented, but by a timely War; and therefore we may account it a providence, that we have an opportunity to declare War against them, whilst we are too strong for them at Sea, and may have Confederates not only to joyn with, for destroying them in their several Fisheries, (which breed them more Mariners than all their other Trades) but also that will find them work enough at Land whilst we fall upon them by Sea.

And as for *New-found-land*, we have an original right to that, as having been the first discoverers and inhabitants of it, and as I have been informed, the *French* at first paid us a duty for permitting them to Fish there, but never arrived at any height in that Trade, until of late Years, and by driving them out of this place, and (ac-
cording

ording to the Example of other Countries in their Plantations) prohibiting their trading thither, *England* will not only preserve a Magazine of Mariners for their own use, but also thereby keep the *French* from arriving at any greatness at Sea, which is our undoubted Interest.

Secondly, As *England* and the *United Netherlands* (which are in ordinary discourse understood by the name of *Holland*, that Province, by way of eminence, giving denomination unto the whole) are the two great Masters of Naval strength, and seated with such advantages for assisting each other, that whilst a true intelligence is preserved betwixt them, it is not in nature for all their Enemies combining together, to prejudice either of them; so it is the true Interest of *England*, to maintain a firm and perpetual friendship and union with them; and that,

First, Because as the *Netherlands* are naturally strong, so they are above all other Countries fitted by situation for the use of *England*, to give check to any aspiring Prince, and be as invincible Bulwarks, against the All-devouring designs of the *French* King, in being able at any time, with the countenance of *England*, to destroy him at Sea; who being brought down there, and so in his Commerce, will soon abate of his Power at Land; and surely nothing can be more for the security of *Europe*, than to reduce the Naval Strength of that threatening King, within former bounds; for the World found, that until the *Spaniard* lost his Marine Force, in the Year 1639. which he never after recovered, he maintained his design for the Universal Monarchy, very vigorously, and never sunk till then.

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Secondly,

Secondly, Because it is equally their Interest with *England*, in reference to their Navigation, to keep the Ballance betwixt the Northern Kings and Sovereigns, not suffering any of them to engross that Sea, because Naval Commodities coming thence, neither of them can be safe longer than the Sea remains divided among several Princes and States, whose general Interest it can never be to deny them necessities for their Shipping (the chief Walls of their several Countries) or a general Trade with them; whereas if one were sole Master of the whole, he would peradventure in some Cases judge it his, and presume to refuse them all accommodations; and this principle, the States of *Holland* have wisely in our days, several times owned, as in the Years 1643. in siding with the Crown of *Sweden*, when the *Danes* would (had not the States assistance been in the way) have run them down at Sea; as also on the contrary, in the Year 1658. in taking part with the *Danes*, when the *Swedes* had otherwise done the like by them, by which means, both the Crowns are preserved, and kept within tolerable limits and bounds.

Thirdly, Because that as Providence seems to have placed them with conveniencies for joyning with *England*, in keeping all other Maritime Princes, or Powers in order, so, without any capacity of being dangerous to their Neighbours, their Constitution being such, as will not well admit of any further acquits.

Fourthly, Because as *England* and *Holland* are of one and the same Religion, save in some Ceremonies, so it would be of great encouragement and countenance to all the Protestant Countries,
to

to have a firm League betwixt two such formidable Powers of their own belief, and as great a trouble and disturbance to all the Popish Counsels.

Fifthly, Because the World having had such large experience of the happy success of their Conduct, in being principal Instruments in preventing the House of *Austria* in their grand design for the Universal Monarchy, and consequently, in the propagation of the reformed Religion, as well as at several times, in preventing both *Dane* and *Sweed*, from either of them devouring the other; it were surely high impolity, as well as in some degree ingratitude, to suffer such useful Instruments and Allies, to whom this Generation is so much obliged for their wise and excellent management of the general Interest of these parts of *Europe*, to be destroyed.

And sixthly, Should *England* by refusing assistance to the United *Netherlands*, force them either to joyn with *France*, or stand Neuters, as if they be left single in supporting the General Interest of *Europe*, they must necessarily (according to the eye of reason) do the one or the other, nothing can be more certain, than that it will be of most dangerous consequence to the very life of *England*, to suffer so near a Neighbour as *France*, to increase daily in power and strength; and if the States shall by a compelled Neutrality look on, and see their Neighbours by degrees subdued, they must be cleared from all guilt of imprudence in it, and leave the blame upon them that deserted them, in the maintaining the publick Interest of Christendom, though it should prove in the end the destruction of themselves, in that a reprieve

for a time is rather to be chosen than a present Death. And therefore, as it was accounted the Interest of *England* in the Reign of Good Queen *Elizabeth*, to uphold the States against the *Spaniard*, so it is not only now the Interest of King and Kingdom of *England* to do the same against *France*, but even also sincerely and heartily to invite the United Provinces (were they backward in it) to join with them, in reducing that King within former bounds and limits.

These States I know have many Enemies, some envying their Trade and Riches, others their revolt from the King of *Spain*, as of bad Example, and the Church of *Rome*, their established National Religion, as that which is past shaking. In that having found by experience, that their temporal as well as spiritual Interest is bound up in it, there is no place left for Popish delusions. And those in the Government being too numerous to be corrupted, the over-powering them by Force, Massacres, and Fires, are all the ways the Romanists have left for destroying of them. And since their Riches is their strength, which lie most in Cities, the Papists had surely ere this applied their Fiery Potion, were they not by extraordinary care and watchfulness prevented.

But because none of these Arguments can be plausibly made use of against them by the Papists, who dread the Conjunction of *England* with them, nor by those Princes and States who assisted them in their revolt, the grand reason for subduing of them is made the greatness of their Trade, which being destroyed, would be divided amongst their Neighbours. loading them sometimes untruly, with accusations of unjust dealings, exactions, and falseness;

ness; to which I shall only answer this, that although I have no cause to become an Advocate for them, from any advantages or benefit received, yet having travelled their Countries, observed their Manners, and read their Disputes and Transactions with other Nations, I think it but an Act of Justice to acknowledge, that in the generality of their Morals, they are a reproach to some Nations, (and particularly, (in so little using that Art of over-valuing their Commodities in their selling) to *France*, who so shamefully use and practise it) And as to their Treaties and Alliances, after which I have been inquisitive, I have sometimes found them wrongfully charged with breach of Articles, and do not find cause to accuse them of having been in the observance of Treaties less candid or faithful than other Countries; and I cannot think, their Trade, or Wealth, (although I believe that *Holland* singly taken, is the richest spot of ground for its bigness, that ever was since the Creation) to be a good or honest Foundation of a quarrel: For their Commerce being alone the effects of Industry and Ingenuity, it is no reason for any to be angry with others, because they exceed them in those Virtues, But besides that the destroying of the *Netherlands* would be the shaking the safety of these Northern Regions, the increase of Trade to other Countries, so much promised by some in their destruction, would surely fail; for were Trade ruined in *Holland*, as less cannot be the effects of Conquests and Slavery, the example and emulation of their Trade, which hath been the great increase of it in other Countries, being taken away, and Trade fallen to a sort of People of less concern for it, men would

grow lazy and weary of Commerce, every one thinking they did well as long so they were upon equal terms with their Neighbours; so that the subversion of *Holland* would be no benefit to any, save to the *French King*, into whose mouth their Country would most fall, who wanting nothing for the making of him uncontrollable, but Havens and Ports to harbour Ships, nourish and breed Seamen, would find supply there, and whose Kingdom being over-stocked with People, would be able to spare men to plant an uninhabited Country, as would certainly be the Fate of *Holland*, under a Conquest and Arbitrary Government, as it hath been to all the free Cities in *Tuscany* and *Italy*, since they lost their Liberty; whereas *England* wanting neither Havens nor Ports, nor having an over-plus of people, it would be a damage to them in the loss of their Inhabitants, and an unprofitable Charge to maintain Foreign Colonies, where the Seas must be perpetually crossed for supplying of them with Men, Money, and necessaries; insomuch that the *Netherlands*, under such circumstances as they would be reduced unto by subduing of them, would not be in the hands of the *English*, so much for their own security, as in theirs that now possess them; for restraint and freedom makes so great difference in prosperity, that less than Liberty, encouraging Trade and Industry, would never be able to maintain their Walls against the Sea, which are kept up with incredible Labour, Charge, and Ingenuity, but expose those parts lying upon the Sea, which are many times more considerable than all the rest, to be devoured by it, or laid much under Water, and so rendred inconsiderable.

And

And the truth of this principle in thus much advancing the benefit of freedom above Arbitrary Government, which would be the lot of *Holland* under any Conquerour, may be observed by the two Cities of *Wesel* and *Maestricht*, which whilst in the hands of the *Spaniard*, were without Trade, miserable, wretched, and poor, many of the Houses of the latter being left in ruins by the Inhabitants, as wanting ability to repair them; and now in less than eight or nine and thirty Years, that the States have been Masters of them, they are both become flourishing places, the latter being in a great part new built, with one of the fairest and best new publick Town-Houses that is ordinarily met with, next *Amsterdam*, and *Augsbourg* in *Germany*. But if there were not these Considerations in the case, as well as that of the advantage that the fall of *Holland* would be to the *French*, which alone is sufficient to engage *England* to support them, it could no way be the Interest of *England* to ruine them, to the end to encrease their own Trade, because if their aims be only traffick, the World affords matter enough to satisfy both Nations, and that *England* hath so much the advantage of *Holland* in natural helps for Trade, that if they do but improve them, they cannot miss of exceeding all others in it; and if they will be careless of their common concerns, they ought not to draw an argument from their own neglects and sloth, for the envying other mens activity and diligence.

And lastly, so long as a firm Peace and amity is maintained by *England* with the *Netherlands*, they may look upon them as the out-works, which must be first taken in by any Invader that will at-

tempt them; for as it never can be the Interest, or in the power of *Holland* to invade *England*, so their Interest in reference to Religion as well as civil security, will always oblige them not to suffer any others to do it, or to endanger them, in whose safety they can only be safe, it being the clear Interest of *England* not to suffer any other Potentate to subvert their Government: So that upon the whole, since the subduing of *Holland* cannot be a benefit but loss to *England*, and may be of great advantage to *France*, and the Church of *Rome*, against which they are impregnable Fortresses; with some smaller profit to other Popish Sovereigns bordering upon them, as to the Elector of *Colne* and Bishop of *Munster*, &c. it must be the chief Foreign Interest of *England* to support the present Government of *Holland*.

Thirdly, It is the Interest of *England* to hold a good Correspondence with *Spain*, not only because that People being little inclinable to Commerce, gives a Trading Country the more advantage in their Friendship, but also for that, that Crown is necessarily to be made use of, for the ballancing of *France*.

Fourthly and lastly, As the *French* King striveth for the Protectorship of the Romish Profession, so it is surely the King of *England*'s Interest to render himself (wherein he can have no opposition) the General Protector of the Protestant Religion; whereby he will become more formidable and glorious than he can by any other means: For as Queen *Elizabeth* adhering thoroughly and cordially to that Party, advancing the Religion, holding Intelligence, and taking part with them in all their engagements, and considerable Treaties,
was

was not only able in the infancy of the Reformation in *England*, to maintain the reformed in *Scotland*, *France*, and the *Netherlands*, against their Enemies, their then several Sovereigns, but also at last to bring down *Philip* the Second of *Spain* (one of the wisest and greatest Kings they ever had) and in him the whole Popish Party, by which her memory is made famous unto Posterity; so his Majesty having many less difficulties to struggle with than she had, by espousing the same Principles, cannot fail of the like glorious success.

And as it is certain, that all Countries are more or less great and prosperous, according to the proportion they have in Trade, peaceable and secure at home and abroad, according to the prudent Election of their Allies, and pursuance of their Interest; so the way to increase Trade, is to incourage and indulge Industry, discountenancing all sorts of people of contrary and idle Principles. And to security, to suit Alliances to Ecclesiastical as well as Civil Interests.

And now, to sum up the Domestick Interest of *England*, it lyeth in the advancement of Trade, by removing all obstructions both in City and Country, providing such Laws as may any way help it, and make it most easy, especially in giving Liberty of Conscience to all Protestant Non-Conformists and denying it to Papists; In not coveting Foreign Conquests, which have always been prejudicial and can never be of advantage to them; and retrench the unreasonable Fees of Lawyers, Physicians, and Officers, as they are great impoverishers of the Nation: And as to the Foreign Interest of *England*, that may be calculated
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to be in keeping the ballance among their Neighbours, and other *European Princes* ; being in order thereunto , firm to their present tripple League, and in that especially to *Holland* , in holding a good correspondence with *Spain* , and in being jealous of all growing greatness in the *French*, keeping the Baltick Sea open, in his Majesties making himself Protector of the whole Protestant Party ; and as Peace is the advancer of Trade, to seek it, and not War, except an inavoidable necessity require it. And thus I shall conclude this Chapter, and in it, the Interest of *England*, with begging pardon of the Author of that Book, Intituled, *A Discourse of Ecclesiastical Polity*, for my Non-Conformity to his Doctrine, which teacheth, that it is safer for a Prince to allow Vice and Debauchery , than Liberty of Conscience ; whereby he prefers the breach of the ten Commandments, and that which the whole Word of God, the Old and New Testament, the Law and Gospel, so dreadfully threatens and declares against, before that, which neither the practice of our Saviour, nor his Apostles, nor any Text in Scripture forbids, or at least, himself being Judge, not positively and indisputably as they do the other ; wherein, I confess, I am so far from agreeing with him, as also in many of his other railing Principles, not much better, that I think the Church of *England* hath reason to wish his Book had been writ by some of another Coat, and of a more remote relation to the Church than the Author is reputed to be, by reason of the advantage that their Enemies may have of drawing arguments from it, to prove their old Charge, That the power of Godliness is so far from being held out

out in the lives, Conversations, and Principles of many of their Priests, that they rather seek to debauch, and make the people wicked and profane.

This is all I have at present to say of this Country, besides adventuring to Prophecie, that when *England* (neglecting Church Politicks, which are commonly founded in passion, revenge, and self, and Lawyers Divinity, which is generally collected out of their own Books, more than the Books of God) will effectually pursue their true Interest, they cannot fail (their natural advantages for Trade considered) of being more great and glorious than any other Nation.

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THE INTEREST OF SPAIN.

S *Pain* is the most Western part of *Europe*, and by some (in allusion to a Body) called the Head of it, being by the *Pyrenean Mountains* (as by the Neck) joined unto *France*, and encompassed on the other sides, by the Ocean and Mediterranean Seas, and since the revolt of *Portugal*, by that Kingdom, which before was under *Spain*.

This Country is made up of several Provinces and petty Kingdoms, united under one Head and King, who (besides this Conjunction of Territories, or aggregated body, called and understood by the general name of *Spain*) hath, in *Italy* the Kingdom of *Naples*, the Dutchy of *Millain*, with some other pieces there: In the *Mediterranean*, the Islands of *Sicily*, *Sardinia*, *Majorca*, and *Minorca*, all bearing the name of Kingdoms: In the Low-Countries, the greatest part of those seventeen Provinces, known by the name of the *Netherlands*: In *Germany*, the *Franche Comté*, or the County of *Burgundy*: In *Africa*, several places, as *Cira*, &c. Many Islands in the Ocean, some in
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the *East-Indies*, and his *West-India* Plantations, Dominions enough, were they well governed, to render their Prince great and dreadful; But *Spain*, which was able (until 1648.) to hold their own against all the power of *Holland*, *Portugal*, and the assistance of *France*, and until 1660. to do the same against the power of *France*, *Portugal*, and help of *England*, and in 1667. not to be able to bear up against a Corner of *France*, is a clear demonstration that Mis-government, in suffering all manner of Frauds, and neglecting the Interest of a Nation, will soon bring the mightiest Kingdoms low, and lay their honour in the dust.

As under the name of *Spain*, is understood several Kingdoms and Principalities united in one, so each of them have their several Customs and Laws, some having more, and others less privileges, and of all *Arragon* seems to enjoy the greatest freedom; for when they Crown their King, the Estates of their Kingdom (as *Heylin* and *Prin* do both affirm) bring in a man, upon whom for that time, they put the title of Justice of *Arragon*, and setting him in a seat advanced above all others, the King who is then to be received, doth first homage to him, and after that, is by the Estates Created King upon certain Conditions, and told, that they that are as great as he and can do more than he, have Created him King, upon the then repeated Conditions betwixt him and them; and this Ceremony is, or ought to be triennially executed in the Assembly of the Estates of *Arragon*.

Their privileges are said to have been granted, to incourage them against the Moors, and it is most undeniably true, that no people have so much

much cause to adventure Lives and Fortunes against Invaders, as they who have Estates and Priviledges to lose; for those whose condition cannot be made worse by a Change, have little reason to fight for nothing, and this is so naturally imprinted in the minds of men, that the dullest Peasants are Masters of it; nay even such of them as in all other things are acted meerly by sense, and not by reason, in this act rationally, as the Country Man in his Proverb, *that they may better Play for nothing than work for nothing*, fully expresseth, and we find this also made good in our time in *Hungary*, where the Protestants remaining passive, have desired that the Turk might prevail rather than the Emperour, because under him, paying a moderate Tribute, they are protected in the enjoyment of their Estates, and exercise of their Conscience, it being Death for a Turk to abuse a Christian upon the bare account of his Religion (a good preident for Christian Princes,) whereas under the Emperour (he being acted by the Jesuits) they are not (or at least were not lately) suffered to enjoy either Conscience or Estate, if they could not joyn in the Idolatrous Worship, and approve of the wicked and ridiculous Doctrine of *Rome*; by which Principle it is, that the Emperour, who was not long since a match for *France*, *Sweden*, and several Protestant Princes, is no more considerable at this day: for as the way for any Prince to make himself formidable in the World is to use all just means to increase his people, provoking them to industry, and a lawful emulation in acquiring of Estates (without which no Country can be great) so the inducement to industry is, the granting of priviledges that may secure men in the enjoyment

enjoyment of the fruits of their labours; for industry and ingenuity are not the effects of the barrenness of a Country, oppression of the People, or want of Land, as the Author of the *State of England* hath of late asserted, but the effects only of Justice, good Laws and liberty: there are Examples enough in the World of barren Countries and great impositions producing no such effects; as *Spain, Portugal, Sweden, and Norway*, do witness: Neither doth the barrenness of that part of *Italy* wherein *Rome* stands, make that City flourish now under Ecclesiastical Oppression, as it antiently did under Justice and good order; nor doth the barrenness of that land (with the oppression of the great Turk) where the ruins of *Athens* yet remain (sad Monuments of the decay of that once famous State) make that place, or any other part of *Greece* flourish now, as it formerly did under freedom and good Administration; but the good Laws and liberty of the City of *Nuremburgh* in *Germany*, which lyeth in a barren soil, may be observed to be the cause of the great ingenuity, industry, and populousness of that City and Country about it.

The want of Land in *Holland*, nor the great Taxes (instanced in by the fore-mentioned Author) are not (according to his new Philosophy) the causes of their industry, but their liberty and good Laws, framed singly to the Interest of the publick (without consideration of any other) are the causes of it, good or bad Government being chiefly that which makes any Country prosperous or miserable; so that our pretended Statist, that fetcheth the reason of the prosperity of a people from the want of Land, the barrenness of the

the Country, and oppression of the Subjects, must be out in his politicks, for that it is not within the reach of his learning to give an instance of any one Country, that ever grew diffusively rich by any other means than liberty and good Government.

The *Hollanders* as they were always under a great degree of liberty, so they were (compared with other Countries) always populous; yet as their freedom hath increased, so have their people, they being now much more populous than in former days: for to say that want of Land, and great impositions, will bring strangers to a Country and make them Industrious, is as much as to say, that Poverty and Famine will do it; but it's irrational, and becoming none but half-witted men, to think that strangers upon an ordinary account will make it their choice to settle in a starving and oppressing Country.

Were not the cold Climate of *New England* supplied and helped by good Laws and Discipline, the barrenness of that Country would never have brought people to it, nor have advanced it in consideration and formidableness, above those other English Plantations exceeding it much in fertility, and other inviting qualities: and as it is by strangers (which none can deny) that *Holland* abounds (above all other places) in people, it must be good Laws, with good Government, Administration of Justice and Liberty, that draws such multitudes to them, and that makes them so industrious and rich as they now are; and it cannot be less than non-sence, or a brain-sick humour in any, to complain of the great charge they are at in *Holland*, and the oppression they lie under there,

there, when the people thrive, and grow vastly rich, beside that populousness from strangers, freedom from Beggars, a people well cloathed, strong and healthful, are not the marks of slavery but of freedom; all which Characters are in no one place found, save in *Holland*, nor any one of them in *France*, where they are in no want of impositions and oppression. And now to speak more particularly to the Taxes and Impositions in *Holland*, quoted by the forementioned Book, as an example to other Countries; they are,

First, no more than what is necessary in a frugal way for support of their Government and protection of their Commerce (which all people ought chearfully to submit unto) and levied without any material burthen to Trade, because from it they must derive all their power and greatness.

Secondly, What is collected is not vainly spent, or paid away in great Salaries, an imployment of 200 *l. st. ann.* being rare amongst them, for even *Monsieur de Wit*, who is according to common fame (which is generally a good Intelligencer) one of the wisest Statesmen and Counsellors of this Age, and of the greatest uprightness, faithfulness, diligence, and industry for his Country, and so consequently of greatest merit, had not until of late above 400 *l. Salary per annum*; and hath it yet but little augmented: nor are they censured by their Officers, but have their income truly expended for their necessary defence, and for the advancement of Trade; for had not Traffick by good Laws, and prudent Conduct, the benefit of their impositions, they could no more flourish than a Farmer could be rich, that reaped

not the fruit of the improvement of his Land, which he made at his own cost and charges.

Neither is it to be imagined, that were not the people of *Holland* fully satisfied in the true and faithful disposal of their money (how great soever their Taxes may be) for the good of the publick, and that it is not vainly spent and trifled away, it were possible to keep them in peace, because as they are a people frugal in their natures and dispositions, so they would otherwise be haters of profuseness, and mutinous against it in their Trustees; and the truth of this appears, not only in that it was far short of what they now pay (the riches of the Country then and now even considered) that made them groan under their burthens in times of peace (which they do not now) and Beggars (compared to what they now are) under the King of *Spain*, and provoked them to revolt, but also in that (notwithstanding their Taxes) Foreign Commodities, and home Manufactures (though made of materials fetched from other Countries) are in the general cheaper than in other places, nay their provisions, though they are for seven parts in eight of them indebted unto the Sea and Foreign Commerce, are yet as cheap as at *London*, their publick half Crown Ordinaries, being for their rate better, and some sorts of Wine at less than half the price they are there, in so much that their great Gabels, through a prudent management, are no burthen to their people; for their Country being all Traders, either in their persons or Estates, and all they pay being laid out for their protection, and the improvement of Trade, their impositions return unto them in an advantageous Circulation, which

which other places not under the like circumstances are not capable of, and therefore it is a great mistake in those, who though ashamed to plead against riches in the people (as the Author of the State of *England* doth) yet being willing to maintain a harmlesness in unlimited Taxes, do make use of the new notion of Circulation, in arguing from the example of one place to another, when the parallel or reason doth not hold; for beside the indigency of the Countries before instanced in (which are sufficiently burthened with impositions without thriving by them) I appeal to Gentlemen that have nothing but their Rents to live upon, whether they find by experience, any help towards Taxes, from the new notion of Circulation: but the maxim of keeping the people poor, having been so mischievous and unsuccessful in the World, and particularly to *Spain*; it is matter of wonder it should still be alive to the prejudice of Mankind. And it is a very uncharitable as well as unpolitick principle, because,

First, It is an incumbent duty upon every one to do as they would be done by, and that it is to be presumed, that those that plead most for Poverty in others, would not be willing to be brought under it themselves.

And secondly, For that although the principle of keeping the people poor, that never knew what riches were, may be practised, it is dangerous to adventure to reduce a people to such a condition, that have known the comfort of plenty, and been used to a full way of living, as the revolt of the Low Countries is a sufficient indication thereof. But to leave this digression if (being occasioned by that Scandalous and vile

Book, called *the State of England*, the further censuring whereof I leave to Authority) it deserves the name.

This great Province of *Spain*, bordering upon no Country but *France* (save *Portugal*) and having no way by Land to it, but over dreadful Mountains, could never have had any probability of carrying the Universal Monarchy as it had long designed, had it not in the prosecution thereof, been indissolubly united to the House of *Austria*; for otherwise, though it hath many considerable Countries depending upon it, and belonging to it, yet being scattered over most parts of the World, they would have been of little use in so great a design. For *Spain* being divided from the rest of that Kings Dominions, and in the general a barren and unpeopled Country, wanting provisions, and the hotness of the Climate rendering the people the more unfit for colder Countries, was not alone qualified for Northern Conquests, especially not of so populous a Country as *France*, through which they must first have made their way; But as it was unseparably united to the Austrian Family, and so to its large Interest in *Germany* on one side of that great body, and on the other side, owner of those considerable *Netherlands* called the seventeen Provinces, with a commanding Interest in *Italy*, in the possession of *Naples*, *Milain*, and some other pieces there, beside the Islands of *Sicilia*, *Sardinia*, &c. in the Mediterranean, and it self conveniently placed for managing his *West*, and (then great) *East-India* Trade, and for establishing the chief Seat of rule, from whence it might without fear of disturbance, issue its directions, as from the Head to the Members,

bers, it is matter of admiration that it prevailed not in the design, and that they failed in the attempt, is next under God (who doth often reprove Princes, by blasting their ambitious and unjust designs against their Subjects or Neighbours) to be attributed to the revolt and wise Conduct of the seven United Provinces, together with the constant and faithful adherence of good Queen *Elizabeth* to her and the Kingdom of *England* true Interest at that time, in a Cordial assisting the States General, either privately or publicly, from their first revolt to the end of her Reign.

Whilst *Spain* was upon their great design, they thought it their Interest as it really was (although not then Great *Britains* but the contrary) to make Peace with *England*, which they accomplished soon after King *James* came to the Crown, aiming thereby to secure their *East* and *West-India* Trades, and enable them the better to act the Papists in *England* against their King and Country (as appeared soon after by the Gun-Powder-Plot) and prosecute their War against the *United Netherlands*, wherein they were surely exceeding right; but having before missed their Interest, in depopulating their Country by persecution, expulsion of the Moors, and Foreign Plantations (which no State designing Conquest should do) and in quarrelling with *Holland* at so great a distance (when by reason of the enmity of *England*, they could not without great hazard approach them by Sea) and before they were Masters of any passage to them by Land, other than after transportation of their succors by Ships to *Final*, then carrying them through *Italy* over the *Alpes*,

and at last crossing *Germany*, a march as it is difficult, so likewise so chargeable beyond! support, that they thereby ruined themselves, whereas had they been content to have suffered the *Netherlands* to have enjoyed their priviledges due to them from all Antiquity, and so kept them under their obedience, and in them the considerable advantage of their assistance, until by Conquest they had made their way to them by Land, *Spain* would according to the eye of reason, have been beyond controul, able to have invaded *France* on all sides with more than probable good success; but their unsatiable, lofty, swelling minds, disdainig all Dominion not founded in arbitrary and absolute will and pleasure, *Holland* became a stone of stumbling to them, against which they were dashed in pieces, in exhausting their vast Treasure, wasting their Men, destroying their Naval strength, and levelling of them to other Princes and States, which sufficiently evinceth the danger and charge of maintaining at a distance, a War which must by Sea be supplied.

And were not the depraved nature of man so blinded by ambition and covetousness, that it can hardly make a true Judgement of things, it could not but in taking right measures of the several kinds of limited and Arbitrary Monarchies, find that Kings and Princes would be much happier, greater, and more formidable under the first than latter. For although an absolute Prince, may with seeming reason think, that he is more considerable when he hath the Estates of his Subjects wholly at his Arbitrary Devotion, than when he hath but part, yet upon a true ballance of circumstances,
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a part under one Government, will be found to exceed the whole under the other, in that where there is a contentedness in a Prince, under limitations, it begets such a confidence betwixt him and his people, in the conjunction of Counsels for the prevention of frauds and deceits, and the improvement of publick good (their joint Interest) as renders Military power needless, and so saves the charge of all other instruments of force, save those necessary for civil administration, which peaceable constitution tending naturally to the increasing Trade, and in that the wealth of a Nation, the riches of Prince and People grow reciprocally together, and that each to a degree much above what it is possible for them both, or either, to arrive at under Tyranny; for where that is the Government, Ingenuity, Industry, and Trade (the foundations of every Nations greatness) must be discouraged, for that no people that have not an assurance of the enjoyment of the fruits of their labours, have any reason to be industrious further than for present subsistence; and if a Prince by Arbitrary Impositions, is able to levy more upon his people than peradventure by mutual consent he could do, yet when the extraordinary charge in keeping by force of Arms his Subjects in slavery (to the obstructing Trade and Industry) and the censuring and cheating in all sorts of Officers, which such Governments must allow, is deducted, the clear revenue of the Prince will by the ballance be found much less than what it would be under a limited Monarchy, where Trade is improved, and deceit prevented; beside that the debasement of the Spirits of his own people, who are never so gallant under sla-

very as liberty, and in a great measure the loss of the use of them, in that under Tyranny they cannot safely be confided in, without a mixture of Strangers, is not small, as our Neighbour Nation doth clearly demonstrate, that King judging it not only his security, but also necessary for him, even whilst his Country is over-stockt with people, to make use of Foreigners to mix with them, without which his own Subjects would be insignificant against other Countries, and dangerous as to himself; nor is the want of that content and satisfaction of mind, which all men not unnatural, take in the affection of their people, of little account; neither is this consideration to be despised, that if such Governments fall to weak Princes, they run great hazard of sudden subversion, oppressed people being apt to take all advantages that may seem to promise ease, or if they shall be more peaceably disposed, it will prove but the giving way to a languishing distemper, which will end in a certain Death, as may be shewn by plentiful instances, where the inability or weakness of one hath lost more, than the succession of several able Princes have acquired.

And if any in opposition of this do object the example of a Kingdom not far off, they may be answered, that beside that degree of freedom, which their Nobility, Gentry, Clergy, and in some kind their Trading Cities enjoy, they are saved by some circumstances, that other Countries cannot hope for, as by the formidableness of their Reformed Subjects, who (being always true to the Princes of the blood, never contesting with their Sovereigns but for Liberty of Conscience

science in Religion, when denied it contrary to their Laws) were a perpetual awe upon the Papists, and when they have Confederated against their Kings, the Protestants have frequently been their ruine, and as oft the preservation of the Crown; beside that the succession of two such Ministers of State, as served that Nation, who having had neither Wives nor known legitimate Children, had the less temptations to usurpation, cannot be again expected: and I dare further undertake to Prophecie, that that Prince and People, who shall at any time be blessed with this harmony and agreement in Government, shall thereby be much more prosperous, happy, and formidable than ever they were before, or can by any other way be hereafter.

And this observation I own to have been first made Master of, by that excellent answer of *Charles* the First of *England* to the nineteen Propositions, presented him by the long Parliament, where reciting the Vertues and Vices of the three several Forms of Government, as absolute Monarchy, Aristocracy, and Democracy, he prefers the Government of *England*, as it is a mixed and regulated Monarchy beyond all other, in that it hath the conveniency of them all without the inconveniency of any one. And surely there is no Government good like that, where the liberties and priviledges of the people are so fortified by Laws, that they are beyond the invasion of their Princes; for King *James* acknowledgeth that he was ordained for the good of his People, and not they ordained for him; and *Charles* the first of *England*, in his forementioned answer saith, That there is legally placed in both Houses

Houses of Parliament a power more than sufficient to prevent and restrain the power of Tyranny.

The Duke of *Tuskany* may be held a rational instance of this assertion, that absolute power is a prejudice to any Prince, in that the multitude of Taxes which he Arbitrarily lays upon his People, are such, as hath in a great measure depopulated his Country, and destroyed the Commerce of it, without bringing near so much into his Coffers, as whilst the Country was under freedom, it did insensibly contribute for publick good and preservation, or as the City of *Amsterdam* alone is said to spend yearly in charitable uses; as on the contrary, the famous things that great Queen *Elizabeth* of happy memory did during her Reign, having been in War with her Neighbours round about her the greatest part of the 45. Years of her time, beside in almost continual action with *Ireland*, and sometimes at home (from the turbulent Rebellious humour of her Popish Subjects) and that in all, with glorious success, is a pregnant demonstration of the benefit that an affectionate agreement in Government betwixt Prince and People (under a mixed Monarchy) brings to a Country.

If the *French* King who brags and glories most in his absoluteness (though he exerciseth it totally but over his poor miserable Peasants and smaller Cities) should compare what his clear yearly income would be under regulated Monarchy, whereby he might increase Trade, spare the charge of vast Armies, many Garrisons, prevent fraud and couzenage, with what it is at present under his Arbitrary Power, with all the prejudicial

cial circumstances attending it; it may with reason be supposed, that that rich and good land would afford a far greater intrade under the first than latter Government; and the *Spaniard* hath cause to acknowledge the truth of this Principle, since their King chusing (contrary to the Belgick Liberties) to carry on the War in his *Netherlands* by his own single Counsels and Foreign Forces (wherein they met with nothing but rapine, guile, and corruption) rather than conform to the privileges of the Country in joining with the Estates of it (who in such case offered to maintain forty thousand men at their own charge) hath had so great an influence upon their decay, if not been the sole cause of it.

The like observations might be made of other absolute Governments, but this shall serve, as being sufficient to shew how *Spain* from the height of glory, promising to themselves the Universal Sovereignty of Christendom, is by the means of a small beginning, the revolt of a handful of their own despised Subjects (occasioned by ill Government and invading of their privileges) brought to change their design from that of swallowing up all Dominion, to that of seeking their own preservation by a League with those that at first they thought to have extirpated, having now no way left to preserve themselves, their *West-India* Territories and Trade thither, and what else they have any where in the World, but to hold it their true Domestick Interest,

First, To reconcile all differences at home, uniting thoroughly there, that so they may be the better able to agree (as it is indispensibly necessary for them to do) upon methodical and well digested

digested means for their defence and preservation, and keeping their Vice-Roys and Governours in all their Territories true to them, in case Death should deprive them of their young King, because should such an unhappiness befall them, and that they should then be found in divisions and distractions, it would give great advantage to the *French* (who will be sure at such a time to fall suddenly upon them in all places) and be an inducement to their great Officers in all their several Dominions, to hearken to the temptations of the *French* (their Enemies) who will not fail (according to their usual practice) of assaulting their fidelities, with promises of the greatest rewards, corruption being the instrument they do the greatest things with.

Secondly, Since neither the Emperour, nor Pope, is now able to afford this King any such assistance, as is to be solely relied upon, it is his Interest to set aside all Church Politicks, and former pretended religious Artifices for persecution, and to give all his Subjects encouragement, if not by toleration in Religion, yet by a tacit abatement of the rigour of his proceedings against them upon that account, as a means the better to oblige the Reformed Princes and States to him; and as the affairs of Christendom now stand, in relation to *France*, even the Pope himself, if he understood his own Interest, and were not blinded by malice and superstitious zeal, could not be averse to this, in that it is folly for him to think, that his gaudy Copes, Crosses, and tripple Crown will defend his See against the *French* King, after he hath by the help of his Pastorial Staff hooked in all the rest, and that he will not reduce both him and

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Peters Chair to their original, and to his own devotion. And now as to the Foreign Interest of this Kingdom, it is,

First, Cordially to unite with *England*, the States of *Holland*, the Northern Kings and Princes, against the growing greatness of *France*, and for opposing that King in all his endeavours for further additions, especially in his designs upon the *Spanish* and United *Netherlands*, for should he gain those of them lying upon the Sea, whether by Conquest, Treaty, or Purchase, he will then find Ports and Havens there sufficient to increase his Naval strength, and want nothing needful for the total ruine of *Spain*, save a pretence (which he will easily invent) for quarrelling with them; for by such acquisitions, his greatness both at Land and Sea would be so much augmented, that he would be able to run them down in all places both at home and abroad, spoiling them in their *West-India* Trade (their chief support) whereas without better and more conveniently situated Harbours than his own, he can never be very great at Sea, and without being formidable there, no Prince in Christendom can exceed in greatness at Land.

And *Spain* having in their late Wars in 1667. had sufficient experience of *France*; they cannot (if what they charge upon them in reference thereunto, be true) with prudence or safety rely upon any Treaties with them, how plain or clear soever they may be, or trust to any thing less than the strength and interest of their Allies in conjunction with their own to defend themselves against *France*; and of this, *Spain* hath the more cause to be sensible, since they are the best able
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to judge of the danger other Countries were in, whilst they themselves designed the Universal Monarchy, out of which enterprize the *French* have at present jussled them, taking it to themselves, and are now as formidable in it as they ever were.

Secondly, It is the true Foreign Interest of *Spain*, to over-look and forget all their pretences or titles to *Portugal*, how good soever they may be, and to make a firm and cordial League with that Crown, for anticipating *France*, in having it as a back Door for entring *Spain* from thence, as by the way of *Perpion* on the one side, and by *St. John de Luce* on the other side, they have already advantages for the invasion of it. And thus upon the whole, the *Spaniard* having no Trade but to their own Plantations and Countries, nor genius to any further prospect in it, their Interest may be summed up in self-preservation: And this is all I have to say of *Spain* at this time.

THE INTEREST OF PORTUGAL.

P*ortugal*, under which name (beside that Country properly called so) is comprised *Algarva* (sometime a small Kingdom) lyeth on the Western part of *Spain*, bounded on that side by the Ocean Sea, having on the Coast near three hundred Miles in length, with eighty or a hundred Miles in breadth; it is neither populous nor fruitful, but thin of people, and so barren, that had not the King a Revenue coming by Trade from the *East* and *West Indies* (where they have large Plantations) and some other Islands, as from the *Azores*, &c. his income would do little to the support of his Dignity and Government.

In the Year 1640. this Kingdom (after it had been near sixty Years under the King of *Spain*) revolted, and set up the Duke of *Brigance*, Crowning of him King, from whence ensued a War betwixt the two Crowns, which continued until the Year sixteen hundred sixty seven, that by the mediation of *England* a Peace was concluded betwixt them.

The ground of their contest was their several
Titles,

96 *The Interest of Portugal.*

Titles, derived from one and the same Common Ancestor, *Emanuel* King of *Portugal*, who left six Children, four Sons and two Daughters, as followeth.

Sons	{	<i>John</i> <i>Lewis</i> <i>Henry</i> <i>Edward</i>	}	Daughters	{	<i>Isabella.</i> <i>Beatrix.</i>
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John succeeded his Father, and had *John*, who had *Sebastian*, (reputed to be slain by the Moors in *Barbary*) who dying without Children, the Line of *John* Eldest Son of *Emanuel* expired in him.

Lewis second Son of *Emanuel* died before his great Nephew King *Sebastian*, and left only *Don Antonio* a Bastard Son, who upon the Death of *Sebastian* was Proclaimed King by those of *Lisbon*, but after forced to fly for *England*.

Henry the third Son of *Emanuel* (a Cardinal) was after the Death of his great Nephew *Sebastian* Crowned King.

Edward the fourth Son of *Emanuel*, and his youngest Child, left two Daughters, *Mary* and *Katherine*.

Isabella eldest Daughter of *Emanuel*, was married to the Emperour *Charles* the Fifth, from whom is lineally descended the present King of *Spain*.

Beatrix second Daughter of *Emanuel*, was married to *Charles* Duke of *Savoy* from whom is descended that Duke.

Mary the eldest Daughter of *Edward*, youngest Son of *Emanuel*, was married to *Alexander*
Duke

Duke of *Parma*, from whom that Family is descended.

Katherine the younger Daughter of *Edward*, was married to *John* Duke of *Brigance*, from whom the present King of *Portugal* is descended.

Henry the third Son of *Emanuel*, in whom was the undoubted right to the Crown, (*Don Antonio* being a Bastard) after the Death of his great Nephew *Sebastian* (as is before-mentioned) was Crowned King in the Year 1578. who being an old Man without Children, and sensible of the disputes that would arise after his Decease about the Succession, erected a Judicature, to hear and determine the several Claims pretending to the Crown, of which there were five, (*viz.*)

First, *Don Antonio* Son of *Lewis*, second Son of *Emanuel*.

Secondly, *Philip* the second King of *Spain*; Grandchild to *Emanuel*, by his eldest Daughter *Isabella*.

Thirdly, *Philibert* Duke of *Savoy*, Grandchild to *Emanuel*, by his second Daughter *Beatrix*;

Fourthly, *Mary* Dutcheß of *Parma*, eldest Daughter of *Edward* youngest Son of *Emanuel*, and younger Brother to *Henry* King Cardinal.

Fifthly, *Katherine* Dutcheß of *Brigance*, youngest Daughter of *Edward*, youngest Son of *Emanuel*.

The Court for Claims erected by King *Henry* assembled and sat, where each pretender by himself, Deputies or Advocates, pleaded their several Titles.

Don Antonio pleaded his own Cause himself, alledging

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alleging the Marriage of his Mother to *Lewis* his Father, but after a full hearing he was excluded (his Uncle King Cardinal being present) as being judged Illegitimate, and that for these reasons.

First, Because he had been reputed a Bastard all his Days, never any Man before calling the truth of it in question.

Secondly, Because when Pope *Julius* the Third put forth a Decree against the promotion of Bastards, *Don Antonio* sued to be exempted, and thereby owned his Bastardy.

Thirdly, Because *Lewis* his Father, by his last Will and Testament declared him his Bastard Son.

Fourthly, Because *Lewis* his Father never acquainted any Friends with his Marriage of his Mother, as was probable he would have done to some of them, notwithstanding she was of mean Birth, and of the race of the Jews (the reason suggested why he did not) had it been true, and especially to his Brother King *Henry*, who was with him in his sickness.

And Fifthly, Because the Witnesses brought to prove the Marriage of his Mother to his Father, confessed that they were suborned thereunto. But in this Case, *Henry* King Cardinal was no competent Judge; because had *Don Antonio* been judged Legitimate, the Kings title had been out of doors, he being but the third Son of *Emanuel*, as *Lewis* the Father of *Don Antonio* was the second, and therefore it is possible the Witnesses might be threatned, and suborned into the confession of subornation.

Bishop the Second, King of *Spain*, pleaded by
several

several Learned Lawyers, First, That being Grandchild to *Emanuel* by his eldest Daughter, and the Dukes of *Parma* and *Brigance* but great Grandchildren to him, by Daughters of a younger Son, who never lived to be King; he was one degree nearer to *Emanuel*, as also to the then present King, than either of the other two, which the Civilians pretended to be strong Arguments in their Law.

Secondly, that when *John* the base Son of *Pedra*, was Crowned King of *Portugal*, it was to the injury of the King of *Castile*, the right being in him, as having then Married *Beatrice* the Legitimate Daughter and Heir of *Ferdinando* King of *Portugal*, Legitimate Son of *Pedro*, whereas *John* was but Bastard Son of *Pedro*, and Bastard Brother to *Ferdinando* Father to *Beatrice*.

Thirdly, Because *Portugal* was given away by a former King of *Castile*, in Marriage with one of his Daughters, contrary to the Law of the Land.

The Duke of *Parma* pleaded by *Farnese* Bishop of *Parma*, that being Son of the Eldest Daughter of *Edward*, fourth Son of *Emanuel*, he ought to be preferred before the King of *Spain*, being but Son of a Daughter of *Emanuel*, and therefore as truest Heir, in deriving from the Male Line, laid Claim to the Crown,

The Duke of *Brigance* pleaded his Cause himself, and against *Spain* alledged the same as *Parma* did, and to bar *Parma*, who was descended from the Eldest Daughter, as himself was from the Younger, that *Parma* was an Alien (being an *Italian*) and he a natural born *Portuguese*.

The Duke of *Soury* pleaded his Cause by *Charles*

Revero (afterwards a Cardinal) but he being descended from a Younger Daughter of *Emanuel*, as the King of *Spain* was from the Eldest, he was presently excluded as having no colour of right.

Beside these pretenders, Queen *Katherine* of *France* would have put in her Claim, as descended by her Mother from *Alphonso*, the Third King of *Portugal*, but the Plea being groundless, they denied to receive it, and so the dispute remained between the King of *Spain*, and the two Dukes of *Parma* and *Brigance*; but King *Henry* dying whilst the business was in hot debate, and before he had decided the Controversy, the King of *Spain* (making himself Judge in the Case) seized upon the Kingdom, which He, his Son and Grandson enjoyed near sixty Years after.

Now the Case standing thus betwixt the two Crowns of *Spain* and *Portugal*; it is consequently the Interest of the *Portuguese*, to be jealous of *Spain* (who will hardly forget their Title to the Crown of *Portugal*) being always upon their Watch towards them, and to make Leagues with Foreign Princes and States for assistance whenever they shall be fallen upon by the *Spaniard*; and as *France* lyeth nearest to them (except *Spain*) and so best able to do them most good or harm, to hold fair with them, yet without trusting them (who practise a great Latitude in breach of Articles) too far, or even their own Queen (if without Heirs of her Body) because a French Lady, who are generally of busie working Spirits in matters of State. And the designs of the *French* being manifestly for increase and greatness, boggling at nothing that may stand in their way, should the young King of *Spain* be swept away by Death,
without

without leaving Issue, the *French* Kings pretences would be as well to *Portugal* as *Spain*, which consideration doth also oblige this King in prudence, to seek (if possible) a hearty Union and League with *Spain*, for their mutual defence and preservation against *France*.

How it comes that this people, who by their inclination to Trade, and success in it, had formerly acquired the Character of the rich Merchants of *Portugal*, should now so little (as they do) deserve that name, I cannot conceive, except by falling under a more severe Government than antiently, they are (according to the natural consequences thereof) fallen from their ingenuity and industry: or that the industry and ingenuity that Reformation in Religion hath brought into the World, beyond what it had under Popish Darknes and Slavery; the Reformists, by their wise and prudent Conduct, have eaten them out of all Trade, save to their own Islands in the Ocean, and the *West-Indies*, which is all they have entirely kept, having in a great measure lost their Trade to the *East-Indies*, as they have also (their circumstances considered) all capability of further increase in it. And now this is all I have to say of the Interest of this Country at this time.

THE INTEREST OF THE United Netherlands.

THE *Netherlands* are called so by lying low upon and towards the Sea, containing seventeen distinct Provinces, encompassed with *France*, *Germany*, the British and Northern Seas; they formerly belonged all to the King of *Spain*, until *Philp* the Second by oppression, and invading their privileges, caused those Countries known by the name of the *United Netherlands* (of whose Interest it is I here design singly to write) to assert their Rites and Liberties, by a Union for common defence and preservation, and in order thereunto, to lay aside their limited Prince or Chief Magistrate, turning their Government into that of a Commonwealth or Republick.

These seven United Provinces are, *Gelderland*, with *Zutphen* annexed to it, *Holland*, *Zealand*, *Utrecht*, *Friezeland*, *Overysfel*, and *Groningen*, which in the States account are in number but seven, because beside that the King of *Spain* hath remaining to him the City of *Gelder*, with a fourth part of that Dutchy; *Zutphen* being small is added to *Gelderland* (as it antiently used to be) and so

so both are reckoned but for one, and that under the name of *Gelderland*.

As these Countries do lie all more or less upon the Sea, so those Provinces are most considerable that lie most upon it, as *Holland*, *Zealand*, and *Friezeland*, of which three the first is alone of more consideration than all the other six jointly; from whence it is, that by way of eminence, *Holland* vulgarly denominates the whole Union, although *Gelderland*, being a Dutchy, hath in Council precedence of it as it is but an Earldom.

Gelderland is the largest Province, but having the most Gentry, and so least Trade, is one of the poorest; it hath of Cities or Havens lying upon the Sea, not any save *Harderwick*, an old decayed University (lately translated to *Nimmeguen*) standing also but upon that broad Water, or Inland Sea, called the Southern Sea, which flows to *Amsterdam*.

This Province is parted into three Divisions, called *Nimmeguen*, *Arnhem*, and *Zutphen*; the chief Assembly or Parliament for the whole (which is the Sovereign Power of the Province) is held yearly at each of these three Cities alternately. This Assembly is Constituted of Deputies, sent from all the three Divisions, by the Gentry and Cities, who in their several Divisions are of equal Power, each Division having (how many Deputies soever they may send) but one Voice in their general Assembly for the whole Province, so that all matters are decided by two of the three Voices, save in some Cases, wherein there must not be a Negative; and as this is the Constitution of the Legislative Power of this Province (called the States Provincial) who meet of

course four times a Year certain, and offer as occasion requires, so the same Orders that send these for their supream power, send also a certain number of other persons to the same Residence, as a Committee of State, which sits continually in the interval of the States Provincial, and summons or calls them together upon extraordinary occasions as they see cause, but during the sitting of the States Provincial, the power of the Committee ceaseth.

Holland being an Earldom is the second in place, and in common appellation divided into South and North *Holland*, but in Law the latter part is called *West-Friezeland* (and the first part only *Holland*) distinguished by the addition of West, from that Province called singly *Friezeland*, as it is from that Country belonging to the Empire, called *East-Friezeland*; so that when in reading, *West-Friezeland* is mentioned, it is to be understood the North part of *Holland*, as *Friezeland* singly and without addition, is one of the seven *United Netherlands*, and *East-Friezeland*, a County of the Empire belonging to an Earl of that name (made lately by the Emperour a Prince of the Empire.)

This Province lyeth upon the Sea, having broad Waters on all other sides, with several Islands belonging to it. It hath in all thirty-one Cities, whereof eighteen are such, as send (by the Election of the respective Councils of each City) Deputies to the Parliament, or supream power of the Province, which I shall hereafter call the States Provincial of *Holland*, according to their usual stile in speaking, not only of this Province, but also of all the other individual Provinces

Provinces of the Union, whose chief Assemblies are also called the States Provincial of each respective Province.

Of these Cities, *Dordrecht*, *Haerlem*, *Delft*, *Leiden*, *Amsterdam*, *Goude*, and *Rotterdam* in *South-Holland*, *Alkmer*, *Horne*, and *Enchusen* in *North-Holland* have the greatest Trades, but none comparable to *Amsterdam*, which alone bears a quarter part of all the publick Charges of the whole Province, and yet in Council hath but the fifth place according to its antient right, *Dort*, *Haerlem*, *Delft*, and *Leiden*, having all precedence of it.

As the eighteen Voting Cities (for so they are called) have in the Provincial States each one Voice, so the Gentry (which are now but nine Families, several being lately extinct) taken jointly and altogether, are made equivalent to one City, and have likewise one Voice, and thereby make the Provincial States of *Holland* (who meet always at the *Hague*) to consist in the whole of nineteen Voices, where all matters are decided by plurality of Votes, saving in some few particulars, wherein there must not be a Negative, and also the same Cities and Gentry send likewise other distinct persons to the *Hague*, to constitute a Committee or Council of State.

The Provincial States meet four times a Year certain, and often as occasion requires, and in their interval, the Committee of State sits continually, and calls them together upon extraordinary occasions, as they see cause, sending also with the summons a particular of the heads which are to be debated in the Assembly, to the end, that the Council of every City, considering of the matter

matter among themselves, may give such Orders therein to their respective Deputies as they shall judge fit; no other business being to be treated of in the Provincial States, than such, as notice was first given of to each City; and this rule is also observed in the other Provinces, as well as in this; but the power of the Committee of State ceaseth, during the sitting of the States Provincial, they being the supreme power of the Province.

Zealand is a Province made up of several Islands, lying in and upon the Sea, to the number of eight, *Walkeron*, (which is the Chief) having in it the Cities of *Middleborough*, *Flushing*, and *Tervere*; the Island of *Schonen*, hath the City *Ziriksea*; the Island of *South Beverland*, the City *Tergoes*, and the Island of *Tertolen*, the City *Tolen*; which six Towns are all the voting Towns that are in *Zealand*, for the Islands of *North-Beverland*, *Devoland*, *Orford*, and *Woolferdick*, being of little consideration, have no voting Cities in them, so that each City having one Voice, and the Prince of *Orange*, as representing the Gentry, either in person or by his Deputy, having likewise one; all the Votes of the States Provincial of the Province of *Zealand* are seven, which decide all matters by plurality of Votes, saving in some few things, wherein there must not be a Negative.

This Council assembles of course at *Middleborough* some certain times, and after as occasion requires, and hath in their absence (as in *Holland*) a Committee of State of other persons (chosen as themselves are) sitting continually, who summons or calls them together upon extraordinary occasions, their power ceasing whilst the States Provincial are sitting. These

These Islands lie circled with *Holland*, *Brabant*, *Flanders*, and the Sea. *Zealand* was antiently much greater than at present, the Sea having about a hundred and fifty years ago, swallowed up the greatest part of some, and part of most of the Islands; and were not the Walls of these Islands maintained with wonderful industry, charge and ingenuity, the Sea would soon devour a great part of them, especially of *Walcheren* the Chief Island, which lies so much lower than the Sea, that the Inhabitants think themselves bound in prudence to raise many high Artificial Mounts, scattered up and down the Land, on purpose for the people to fly to in case of Inundations.

Utrecht was formerly a Bishoprick, but now one of the seven Provinces; it lyeth encompassed with that part of *Gelderland*, called the *Vosw*, *Holland* and the Southern Sea, having but five Cities in it, that which bears the name of the Province, *Amersford*, *Dursteden*, *Renen*, and *Montford*.

The States Provincial consist of three Orders, (*viz*) the Ecclesiasticks which are the first (being lay Canons, who buy for their Lives their places, and with them the revenue belonging antiently to the Church) the Gentry the second, and the Cities the third. The first of these Orders send eight, and the two latter each four Deputies, in all sixteen, of which consist the States Provincial of this Province, who assemble at *Utrecht* of course some certain times, and often as occasion requires, and in their interval they have as in the other Provinces, a Committee of State of other persons chosen by the same powers as themselves are, sitting continually, who summons them up-

on extraordinary occasions, their own power ceasing whilst the Provincial States sit, by whom all matters are carried by plurality of Votes, saving in some particulars, wherein there must not be a Negative, majority of Votes having no place.

Friezeland lyeth most upon the Sea, bordering by Land upon *Groningen*, *Westphalia*, and *Gelderland*, and is the most considerable Province next *Holland*; the chief Cities of this Province are *Leuwarden* (the Capital Town) *Franecker* (an University) *Harlingen* (the Seat of their Admiralty) *Bolsward*, *Sneek*, *Worcum*, *Dorcum*, and *Stavern*; there are others of less consequence, and some Villages as good as Cities in other places; for as the Yeomandry in this Country are rich, so their Houses for their kind, are the best that one meets with ordinarily.

The States Provincial of this Country, are constituted of four members or Orders, that is of Deputies sent from the several Divisions of *Westergo*, *Ostergo*, *Silvestres*, and the Cities; the three Divisions are again sub-divided into several Precincts, where every one having a House with a certain proportion of Land, hath a Voice in their respective Precinct, from whence by majority of Voices they send two Deputies to the general assembly of their Division, and what is resolved upon by the major part of the same, is held the act of that Division, as also what is resolved upon by the major part of the Cities, is conclusive as to them.

The States Provincial of this Province, is constituted of Deputies sent by the four forementioned Members or Orders, each Order having one Vote, who decide all matters by three of the four,
except

except what concerns the Sovereignty, in which there must not be a negative ; this Council meets at *Leerden* some certain times of course, and often as occasion requires, they having a Committee of Estates subordinate to them, sitting continually in their absence, as the other Provinces have, and chosen by the same Orders as themselves are, who calls them together upon extraordinary occasions.

Overyssel is so called from lying beyond the River *Isel*, it hath *Friesland* and *Groningen* on the North, *Gelderland* and *Zutphen* on the South, *Westphalia* on the East, and the Southern Sea on the West, it is least considerable of all the seven Provinces, and was formerly belonging to the Bishoprick of *Utrecht*, but being weary of the tyranny of Ecclesiastical Government they cast it off, and upon certain conditions put themselves under the Emperour *Charles* the Fifth.

As this Province is least in consideration, so for its bigness it hath the most Gentry, having about sixty Families ; which may serve to make good the observation, that the more idle people any Country hath, the poorer it will be.

The States Provincial of this Province, consists of two Members or Orders (who sit at *Zwoll* or *Deventer*) that is, the Deputies for the Gentry, and for the three Cities of *Deventer*, *Campen* and *Zwoll*; these two Orders are of equal power, neither concluding the other without consent of all or part of the other Order; for as the Gentry have three Voices, so the Cities being three, have each one Voice, which making in all six Voices, there must be four for concluding any matter in debate, as all the Gentry and one City,
or

or all the Cities and one third part of the Gentry, or two thirds of the Gentry, and as many of the Cities; but in some Cases there must not be a negative, majority having no place; and this Province hath their Committee of State in the interval of their Provincial Estates, in like manner as the other Provinces have.

The Province of *Groningen*, in which is no City save that bearing the name of the Province, is the most Northerly of all the Provinces, lying upon the Sea, betwixt *Friezeland* and *East-Friezeland*. This Province is made up of the City of *Groningen*, and the Land about it, called in Dutch the *Umlanden*, which signifies the Land round the City. This Land is divided into three parts, and those again subdivided into three, which are in all nine. In this Country all persons owners of House and Land to such a certain value, have Voices in their respective Precincts, and what is concluded by the majority of the Precincts, is the resolution of the Country, except in some Cases where majority hath no place. The City of *Groningen* hath a certain number of Senators, whose resolution by majority of Votes is taken in all Cases to be the act of the City. The Deputies for the City, and for the Country, make the States Provincial who sit in the City, and each Order (*viz.*) the City and Country being absolute, they must in all acts of Sovereignty agree, or else nothing can pass, there being no plurality where there is but two Orders, and this Province hath also their Committee of State sitting in the interval of the Provincial Estates, as the rest have.

The Republick of the *United Netherlands* is made

made up of these seven Provinces, which I have here taken in order according to their Ranks (those ten of the seventeen Provinces remaining in whole, or in part to the King of *Spain*, being by way of distinction called the *Spanish Netherlands*) and are a Common-wealth only for common defence, each Province being to all other purposes absolute Sovereigns within themselves.

Beside these seven entire Provinces, there are several parts of several other Provinces acquired (most) by Conquest, which are under the Government of the Union by the States General, and are made use of by them for their Frontier Garrisons, to their great advantage, in keeping the Provinces of the Union, the freer from Soldiers, to the encouragement of Trade and Industry.

Now this Republick being thus Constituted, and preservation being consequently the Common Interest of all the Provinces (a Foreign Sword knowing no Friends where it prevails) it is,

First, Their Chief Foreign Interest to be jealous of the greatness and Neighbourhood of *France* (from whence as soon as an opportunity serves, they may well expect a storm) holding a good correspondence with *England*, who as they are able, so lie most conveniently for their assistance, as also with the Northern Kings and Baltick Sovereigns, keeping that Sea from being ingrossed by any one hand, in reference to the great Trade in general that they have thither, and particularly to their Shipping, it being the place from whence they are furnished with their Naval Commodities, maintaining also a good intelligence with the German Princes, as necessary for upholding the great

great Trade they have by Land into their Country, as well as for keeping them from adhering unto the *French* in their ambitious designs.

Secondly, It is their interest to be sure of *Spain*, in relation to the profitable Trade they have thither, as likewise to their safety in the Neighbourhood of the *Spanish Netherlands* (so long as those Countries are in the possession of that King) not suffering them to come into the hands of the *French*, (who cannot approach them so near, without danger to them, as well in reference to their concern at Sea as Land) and so far as is in their power, to obstruct the *French* in their growth and increase at Sea.

Now as to their Domestick Interest, first it may be calculated from their own observations, to be the avoiding of a standing General and Governour, except so circumstanced and limited, as may only give him liberty and power of doing good, without any of doing harm, which is the power that is *Jure Divino*, and due to Governours, the end of Government being for the protection, preservation, and general good of the Community, and not for the punishment and ruine of the innocent with the guilty, as according to common fame in *Italy*, *Philip* the Fourth of *Spain* (to be revenged of the Neapolitans, for the Insurrection of *Merisello*) did, in sending Ships from *Sardinia*, laden with persons infected with the Plague, on purpose to carry that sickness thither, which when their Landing was opposed by the Inhabitants, were by the Governour brought on shore by force of Arms to the destroying (according to *vox populi*) in and about it near three hundred thousand Souls, contrary to the Precept of

of the Apostle, who tells us, that Rulers are not to be a terrour to good but evil doers.

And if the Dutch Writers speak truth (in that Book called *the Interest of Holland*) in affirming, that their standing Governours with their former authority and power, instead of reconciling differences when any have arisen betwixt Provinces, Divisions, Cities, or Magistrates (as was part of their Office to do, and one of the benefits they promised themselves in a standing Governour) they have usually nourished them, as holding it their Interest so to do, according to that Maxim of *Divide & Impera*, and when they have decided any Controversies, have made their own private designs the rule of their decision, even to the prejudice of the innocent party, and that since they have had no standing head, they have had fewer differences, and those easier composed than before (save only that single contest about a Stadtholder) as also, that they ever observed, that when their Generals were in the Field, and furthest from home, they had always the least faction and most union among them: all these circumstances considered, it doth clearly evince, that as Concord or Faction is the Life or Death of a State, so the avoiding of a standing General and Governour, invested with the former Authority and Power, is their true Common Interest.

Secondly, As a Government is better or worse according as it follows its true Interest more or less, & that all the Provinces, and every City in them, are more at liberty to pursue their Interests while they are their own Masters, than when they are under the over-ruling and over-awing power of a
I standing

standing General, that may have a distinct Interest of his own contrary to theirs, it is the common Interest of the States to keep the power in themselves, and not to give it to another, especially since they have found success and prosperity in their own Conduct, and less prejudice by Pirates, than when they had a Head, who as their Writers affirm, took no care of clearing the Seas.

Thirdly, As Trade is their grand Interest, by which they are only enabled to defend themselves, and as liberty and freedom are the great increasers of it, and as an uncircumscribed standing head, in both Civil and Military Affairs, is under temptation of obstructing their liberty for publick Interest, if contrary to his private, according to the experience they had of their Governour in his not hearkning (as they say) unto the Peace at *Munster*, until gained by a bountifull present made him by the *Spaniard*, of the Marquisat of *Bergen*, *Tournholdt*, *Seavenbergen*, and the County of *Monfort*, beside a promise of a large yearly sum of money, and as the great damage they suffered by their first War with *England*, into which they say they were hurried by the party of their deceased Governour and General, may be a warning to them; so all the Provinces are concerned more or less, according to the several proportions they have in Trade, to avoid such an Officer, as may obstruct the publick Interest, if his own private be not in it.

Fourthly, As War is an Enemy to Trade, and as all standing Governours, being also Generals, will be for War although prejudicial to the publick, because thereby they render themselves greater, and more necessary than in Peace, as also better

better qualified for Usurpation ; and as in their designs they are apt to eye their own glory, more than the profit of their Masters , not regarding at what rate they purchase honour to themselves upon the cost and charges of others, as appears by the debt of fifteen Millions and three hundred thousand pounds English, their Generals run them into, and much of it by ostentatious and unprofitable undertakings (as their Writers aver.) And as there is no danger of the loss of liberty, like that from a standing General, who being cloathed with power and authority, is qualified for framing Factions for Usurpation, so it must upon the whole be their Common Interest, to oppose such a standing Head for term of Life, in whom there is so much hazard and inconvenience. But although the general Interest of all the Provinces thus considered, is to oppose a standing Governour and General, yet the several Provinces are in several degrees more or less concerned therein.

First, Because such an Officer by occasioning Divisions, and opposing his own private Interest to that of the publick, is prejudicial to Trade, where- in *Holland* of all the Provinces is most concerned, in that by computation they are not able to feed above one eighth part of their multitudes , with provisions of their own growth, but are indebted to Commerce for seven parts of eight of their nourishment : and as that Country lyeth the most conveniently of all the Provinces for Traffick, to all Corners, East, West, North and South, having good Havens and Ports, and abounding in Manufactures, so the *Hollanders* have cause to look upon Trade as their Chief Interest, and themselves more obliged to remove all obstructions in it, than

those of the other Provinces, which have not the like convenience for it, nor are under the like circumstances as to their subsistence.

Secondly, As *Holland* having more Wealth and Treasure than all the other six, is more potent than them all, so they cannot hope for less than destruction under Usurpation, it becoming necessarily the Maxim of Usurpers, to reduce to poverty such Countries and parties as they have cause to fear, and that not only to prevent being capable of practising against them, but also that with their substance, they may gratify their adherents, gain, and corrupt their needy Enemies: and as all men Armed with power do naturally press after Dominion, and that a Civil and Military Head for Life in the *United Netherlands*, can never arrive at an absolute Hereditary Rule, but by a total subversion and suppression of *Holland*, whose vast loss in the decay of Trade, which the Change of Government, with the loss of liberty, must necessarily bring, will otherwise be continual provocations to opposition; it is more the concern of *Holland* than any other Province, never to admit of a standing Governour and General, because their utter dissolution is most indangered by such an Officer.

Thirdly, As most of the publick charge of the Union lyeth upon the Shoulders of the *Hollanders*, so they have most reason to be Masters of their own Militia, in disbanding and raising of their Armies, both by Sea and Land, as they see cause, which whilst they have a standing General and Governour (who will prefer his own splendor before publick Interest) they cannot exercise without the hazarding of a breach, as fell out in the Year

1650. And as this province of *Holland*, being most concerned in Trade, and so consequently in the benefit and loss by War, is more engaged to have an eye to both than the other provinces, who are not so deep in Traffick; so it is more their Interest than any of the others, to oppose a standing Head, that may be able by force to bring the best Magistrates to a passive, and the worst by corruption to an active obedience, or at least submission to his will, to the obstructing them in the pursuance of their Interest, as hapned not many Years ago.

Holland hath of late Years been under great contests with the other Provinces, about refusing to Elect a standing Stadtholder, which in their Adversaries might proceed from a mixture of Causes, as from emulation (corrupt nature being apt to envy the prosperity of their Neighbours) and selfishness, in considering that Usurpation carrying necessarily with it the suppression of *Holland*, their fall would be the increasing of Trade to the other Provinces; unavoidably engaging the Usurper to a general indulgence of them; bestowing upon them the Offices and employments maintained at the charge of the *Hollanders*, as a reward for supporting him in the enjoyment of his unjustly acquired Dominion: For that a Prince, who having to do with several Countries aims at making himself absolute, must by profuse liberality (conniving at and excusing exorbitancies) make it the Interest of the most indigent and needy, to assist him in the subduing the most opulent and potent Countries; but by what Principles soever the other Provinces were acted to the opposing of *Holland*, in their laying aside of a standing Ge-

neral and Governour, they surely missed their Common Interest in it: though I will not deny, but the private corrupt Interest of some beggerly Courtiers, Souldiers and Families might not be wanting; for as the Government of an Usurper must be Arbitrary and Tyrannical, the ordinary course of Law not being sufficient to serve his turn, so for protecting him in his illegal practices, he must allow his Janizaries to share with him in his oppressing of all the rest, nay even in cousening and cheating of himself, as the only means to quiet them under his doing the like by the people, and therefore it ought, and indeed will be the care of all vertuous and good men, not to forsake the paths of righteousness, for such as the rules of honesty cannot maintain them in; and it hath (in my private thoughts) been many times a wonder to me, how men professing Religion (and whom I will not accuse of insincerity therein) could not only join with *Cromwel*, but also magnify him in his crooked designs. For though good men may have their failings, yet a man stands in need of a great measure of Charity, to think well of those persons that live and die in them without repentance; for uniformity in moral honesty is that which all Christians ought to labour for, the contrary being inconsistent with true Religion; for though a man may be morally honest that is not religious, no man can be truly religious who is not morally honest.

And now as the Interest of all the Provinces is truly one, although in several degrees, so it may be summed up to be (in order to their common safety and preservation) their prime and chief Interest, to be jealous of the designs of *France*,
making

making Leagues for preventing them in their further incroachments upon their Neighbours, and especially upon the *Spanish Netherlands*, securing above all others *England* to them, holding a good correspondence with *Spain*, *Germany*, the Northern Kings and Princes; keeping the Baltick Sea open, unmonopolized by any one Prince, clearing the Seas of Pirates, maintaining Peace (if possible) with'all Nations, avoiding a War, and especially at Sea, as that which is destructive to Commerce, promoting Trade by all honest means, and opposing a standing Governour and General, except so circumstanced and circumscribed, that he can no way endanger their liberty, as that which will otherwise destroy them: For whenever they shall be so far depraved, as without strict limitations and bounds, to confer their three Civil and Military chief Commands, upon one and the same person for Life, their liberty is gone.

For the advantages that attend those dignities, and Charges or Offices in an ability of augmenting Salaries, giving Bribes, bestowing places of profit upon some, and creating new for the sake of others, with the general influence he will have upon all their Counsels, will leave very few uncorrupted in either City or Camp, or faithful to their Country and not at his Devotion, and if he suspend his Usurpation until by marriage he hath increased his Interest and Power, and hath Sons grown up to make use of, in the forming and heading of his Party, courting and cajoling Officers and Souldiers, he will then certainly attempt it; for nothing can be more infallible, than that a single Head of great Allies, Interest, and Revenue, is inconsistent with a Common-wealth, ac-

cording to the Maxime of the Republick of *Genoa*, who for that reason (in some kind like the Ostracism at *Athens*) have sometimes made their greatest Citizens incapable in their Republick of Magistracy, wherein they are certainly wise, for never any people was in their Liberties Usurped upon by any of themselves, but where there was either too much power, or too much money given to buy and corrupt a needy, covetous, and ambitious party; but as the people in these Countries are the original of the power of their Magistrates, so it must be left to them, and thus I have done with this subject.

A brief

A brief Discourse of the Original Cause of the United Netherlands casting off the King of Spain, and of their present Government by Estates General, which follows here, as serving to make the foregoing Chapter of their Interest, the more intelligible.

THAT the *United Netherlands* are part of the seventeen Provinces of the *Low Countries*, and what the nature and kind of their several Provincial Governments are, I have shewed in the Chapter going before, which treats of the Interests of those Provinces: so that in this place it is not needful to add more, than that they are all, each within their respective Jurisdictions, absolute and independent as to all Civil and Criminal Causes, making Laws, and doing all other acts and matters of Sovereignty whatsoever, without having any Superiours or Appeals from them, being jointly (like antiently the Grecian Republicks) a Common-wealth to the end only of common safety and preservation, and separately to all other ends, as so many individual Sovereignties.

As these Countries had in all times reserved unto themselves, such large priviledges and immunities, as rendered them always under a great degree of liberty and freedom, so when the King of *Spain* by invading their priviledges, necessitated them to cast him off, they had little more to do

do in the change of their particular Governments, than laying him aside, the Government remaining much the same after as before, the Cities in each Province, being now governed much after the same standing Councils, and after the same order and method as antiently, except that whereas formerly upon the Death of any of their Council, the surviving Councillors, by the Election of the major Votes presented in some places a double, and in others a tribble number to the Prince, for him to chuse a single to supply the vacant places, they now have in all the Provinces, where the late Prince of *Orange* was Stadtholder, the Election absolute in themselves. And whereas the Sovereign power of every Province, is in their respective States Provincial, and the management of matters of State in their absence, in a Committee of State sitting continually, upon both which, the Prince of *Orange* had a great influence, though no right of Session in either, the Prince being now laid aside in *Gelderland, Holland, Zeland, Utrecht*, and *Overyssel*, the five Provinces over which his Ancestors had four times successively been chosen Governours; both Councils in each of these Provinces, act now of themselves without any reference to him.

And for *Friezeland* and *Groningen*, the remaining two of the seven *United Provinces*, they chuse always one of another House of *Nassa*, for their Stadtholder, save that *Frederwike Henry*, a person of great parts and designs, outed *Grave William* of *Nassa*, or at least after his Brother *Henry* was slain before *Antwerp*, prevented him of the Governourship of *Groningen*, as had he lived, he would possibly have done the same for *Frieze-*
land,

land, that then having the Stadtholdership of all the seven, he might at last have made himself absolute Master of the whole; but Death preventing him in this his more than probable design; *Groningen* since his Decease, returned to their first Family, who deserves as well from them, several of them having lost their Lives in their Service, as the other House of *Nassa* doth from the rest.

And now to shew further, the great liberty that these Countries (who are ever jealous of their priviledges) antiently enjoyed, as well before they were under the House of *Burgundy*, as during that time, I shall instance in *Gelderland* and *Holland*.

The first of these Provinces is found to have been divided into four particular Tetrarchies, three whereof (*viz.*) *Nimwegen*, *Arnhem*, and *Zurphen*, were invested with so much power, that if any Subject complained to the Tetrarchy, to which he belonged, of wrong done him by the Prince, making the truth thereof appear, they were obliged to demand right of the Prince for the party injured, and not receiving satisfaction within two months after demand, to sequester all his Domain within their Jurisdiction, and if he should still deny, or delay giving reparation within one Month after that, then they were to make the Case known to the other two Tetrarchies, who thereupon were obliged to sequester all the Domain of the Prince within their several Jurisdictions. And as in these times the Government was in three Divisions with a Prince, the Change is no more, than in laying aside the Prince, and Governing after the same

same method without him, as before with him, save that the people enjoy now their privileges under the present Government without dispute, whereas they were in perpetual contest about them under the former.

Holland was originally an independent Province, holding neither of the Emperour, nor any other Foreign Prince, and always governed by States together with a Prince, none but Natives being capable of Election to be Councillors, Treasurers, or other great Officers, the States having power of themselves to assemble when, where, and as oft as they pleased, without leave of their Prince, as also they had the sole power of levying Taxes, but making Peace and War, ordering and disposing of the Mint, was with consent of the States and the Prince, no subject being bound to the obedience of any Command, but as it was founded in Law, the Prince at his Installation, taking an Oath to maintain the Customs and Laws of the Land, and the people subsequently promising only to be true and obedient unto him, so long as he governed according to Law. Many privileges more might be instanced in, but by these the measures of their antient Liberties are sufficiently to be Calculated,

Charles Duke of Burgundy (surnamed the Warlike) Master of these Provinces, begun first to incroach upon the *Belgick* Liberties, wherein with much subtilty he proceeded soberly and secretly, as knowing that old Foundations were not suddenly, but by degrees to be overthrown, his Grandson (the Emperour *Charles the Fifth*) taking example from him, went on in the same way, yet a little more publickly and vigorously, but his
Son

Son and Successor *Philip* the Second King of *Spain* (although a Prince of great parts) being impatient of a slow pace, making over-great hast in the design, provoked the Estates of these Countries to cast him off, and take the Government to themselves, which they now carry on without a Prince, as they did before with one.

This *Philip* being acted by ambition, and presuming upon his great strength, vast parts and abilities, designed the total subversion of the Belgick Liberties, Government, and the Reformed Religion (which had then taken root, and was of a fast growth among them) and some say even of the Nation it self, intending an extirpation of the old, and a replantation with new Inhabitants, making his method the provoking them to stand upon their own defence, by the highest oppression imaginable, not doubting, but when he had forced them to fly to the natural right of self-preservation, he should be able with ease to subdue them, and after he had done that, to cast (by the authority of his dignity and person) the blame upon themselves, though never so innocent, and then plausibly confiscate their Estates, destroy the People, new plant the Country, and rule Arbitrarily according to his own Will and Pleasure, a method which in part hath been sometimes used by Princes for obtaining of absolute Dominion, though not always with good success, as the revolt of the Cantons of *Switzerland*, as well as these Countries do witness, beside that three Kings of *Denmark* lost successively the Kingdom of *Sweden* by it, as did also afterwards *Sigismundus* of *Poland* the same Crown of *Sweden*: And that the King of *Spain* miscarried in his ambitious and wicked

wicked undertakings, his greatness in Dominions, Allies, and his own parts considered, may serve to shew to all Princes, what a small people made desperate may do, and will be matter of admiration to posterity, and of ascribing it to the signal hand of God, in punishing the unrighteous designs of that Cruel King against his own Subjects, and prospering their necessary defence, and the assistance afforded them therein by good *Queen Elizabeth*, and the several Kings of *England* and *France*.

The several ways he used to incense the people, were first in making the Dutches of *Parma* (his natural Sister) contrary to their priviledges (in that she was an Alien) Governess of these Countries.

Secondly, In imposing a new and extraordinary Council upon them, consisting of several Strangers, whereof Cardinal *Grandfield* being one, was made president of it.

Thirdly, In placing many other Strangers, in great Offices of trust and profit.

Fourthly, In setting up the Inquisition, and that with an extraordinary power.

Fifthly, In commanding the observation of the Council of *Trent*.

And sixthly, In increasing the number of Popish Bishops, from three to seventeen, the fourteen added being chosen by the King with only the Popes approbation, that depending upon him, they might be the more complying instruments for Tyranny and Persecution. And when he had made these breaches upon their Liberties, considering such Innovations to be high intrenchments upon their rights, and therein superlative provocations,

vocations, he then contrary to Law, brought in an Army of Foreigners upon them; to force a submission to his Arbitrary Will, and that not only in Taxes and Impositions, but also in all other things, by which he put the people out of doubt as to his intentions of reducing them to slavery.

His petty Artifices for impoverishing the Nobility and Gentry, by provoking them to live above their Estates, &c. as necessary (as he thought) to the introducing of an absolute Dominion, are not worth mentioning, more than that he therein missed his Interest, in that it was the only way to dispose them to cast off that Government, under which they could not comfortably live; for surely no Councils are more dangerous to a Prince than such as tend to make a people poor, who have had the experience of riches.

The people being thus provoked, sought first redress of their grievances from the Dutchess of *Parma*, who of her self was inclinable enough to relieve them, insomuch that the Count of *Egmont* being with her approbation sent into *Spain*, to represent the Complaints of the provinces, the King dissembled a willingness to redress them, returning him with a favourable answer, especially in remitting the Edicts about Religion and the Inquisition, whereby the discontents of the people were removed, and the Government carried peaceably on by their Governesse, with the advice and assistance of the Nobility of the Country, until the Year 1565. that the Queen of *Spain* (having the Duke of *Alva* with her) met her Brother *Charles* the Ninth of *France*, with his Mother Queen *Katherine* at *Byon*, the next Port in *France* to *Spain*, and as near as *Dover* is to *Calis*, where
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an extirpation of all professing the Reformed Religion in both Kingdoms was agreed upon, with a mutual assistance of each other in the design; and accordingly the King sent Letters the same Year to the Governess, disowning what he had before granted to Count *Egmont*, Commanding without favour or pardon, the putting all Hereticks to Death, the Execution of the Council of *Trent*, and the Emperours Edict about Religion. This multiplyed discontents, and the Constancy of many Martyrs in their Deaths, having wrought exceedingly upon the people, great multitudes rise, and in the Year 1566. they hindered the Executions of some, breaking Prisons, and setting others at Liberty, which was soon after seconded by a Confederacy of the great ones, never to suffer the Inquisition in the *Netherlands* but to banish it as that which occasioned so much Cruelty as exceeded all former Tyrannies.

These stirrings being by the Governess represented to the King, he did at last recal his Commands, but by his slowness in it, his jugglings and frequent dissimulations (which with the wisest of Princes cannot last long undiscovered) having lost his Credit with the people, this revocation at its arrival found great Insurrections in many places, to which the Governess would have had gentle remedies applied, but was not able to prevail therein with the King, for he (by the advice of desperate Councillors) being bent upon bloody resolutions, instead of giving any satisfaction to their just grievances, returned nothing but threats, seconding them immediately by sending the Duke of *Alva* (infamous for Cruelty) with an Army, of which he was made General, and
with

with him for Civil matters, one *Vergias*; a witty, bold, needy Fellow, who (having been a Judge in *Spain*, had been there laid aside for Injustice and Corruption) was as odious for Villany, and therein the more fit for Arbitrary and Tyrannical Work.

Now the choice of these two Instruments, shewing the *Netherlanders* what they had to trust unto, caused Confederacies to be entered into by the Chief of the Country (being yet Papists) for the defence of their priviledges: but it was not long after, ere the Prince of *Orange* and others, thought it wisdom to withdraw into *Germany*, as the Counts of *Egmont*, and *Horn*, &c. not doing the same, found cause in a little time to repent their imprudence, being soon after *Alva's* and *Vergias* Arrival (although the Country was then by their means reduced to Peace) unjustly put to Death.

The Emperour offered himself as Mediator, but was by the King rejected, his intended work and design not being less than a total Confiscation of Estates, wherein he went so far, that multitudes being made Criminals, another Insurrection followed, and the Country being prepared by heavy and unusual Impositions and Taxes, at the retired Lords second return out of *Germany* with assistance, and after the Count of *Marks* success upon the *Brill*, &c. the suffering party joined readily with them; and although the first places that rise, as *Antwerp*, &c. were in a little time reduced to the obedience of the King, the places remoter from *Bruxels* (the residence of the *Spanish* Governour) so prevail'd, that the Duke of *Alva* was forced in the Year 1573. to return with disgrace for *Spain*, and his Successor providentially dying not long af-

ter, the Chief of the Provinces entered (before any other was settled) into an Agreement with the Prince of *Orange*, for carrying on the affairs of the Provinces, and in the Year 1576. made an Act for expulsion of all Foreign Souldiers, restoring all the antient Forms of Government, referring matters of Religion to the States Provincial of each Province respectively, to do therein particularly for themselves as they should see cause, which Articles Don *John* (then Governour) with the consent of the King, did under the name of the Pacification of *Ghent*, ratify and confirm; but the King notwithstanding this, taking the first opportunity of breaking this Pacification, occasioned thereby that solemn Union, called that of *Utrecht* (taken the 29. of *January*, in the Year 1578. English, and 1579. *Hollands* stile (they beginning the Year from the first of *January*, as we do from the 25. of *March*) for their common defence and preservation) which then laid (and still is) the foundation of their Commonwealth.

After this, the Confederates growing bold, went on prosperously, and when they had got themselves into a prevailing posture of defence, establishing a Liberty in Religion, God so blessed them, that they grew rich, gained upon the *Spaniard*, and after about eighty Years of continual War (save twelve of Truce) forced the *Spaniard* in the Year 1648. to own them for a Free State, confess the Justice of their Cause, and make Peace with them upon their own Conditions, leaving every individual Province in the full exercise of that Government which they had set up, and agreed upon exclusive to the King, and the seven

seven United Provinces, in a joint execution of their new model for common safety and preservation; under the title of Estates General; upon which Government I shall here make some observations, as I have already done upon the several Sovereignties of each individual Province in the next preceeding Chapter, intituled, *The Interest of the United Netherlands.*

The General Government of the seven Provinces united in one for common defence, is chiefly carried on and managed by four General Councils (or Colledges, as they call them) (*viz.*) the Estates General, the Council of State, the Chamber of Accounts (or Exchequer) and the Colledge for Marine Affairs, all sitting in the *Hague* in the Province of *Holland*, and constituted of Deputies sent thither by the several States Provincial of the seven Provinces respectively, for several Terms, according to the several Customs of every particular Province, each Province having one Voice in the States General.

First, That Council called the States General (composed usually of about thirty persons) is the supreme or chief power of the Union, to which each Province send as many Deputies as they please, but whatever the number of their Deputies are, they have all but one Voice, matters being carried by plurality of Provinces, and not of persons, so that the Votes of the Council being seven, according to the number of the Provinces, that Province that sends six or seven Deputies (as *Holland* sometimes doth) hath but one Voice as another hath, which perhaps sends but one or two, and in this Council, neither Stadtholder of those Provinces which had such an Offi-

cer, nor any Military person or Officer had right of Session, though when the Prince of *Orange* thought fit to desire to be heard, he was admitted to offer his advice in person to the States General, and sometimes it was asked of him by their President sent to him to that purpose, but in the Provincial States of the Province of *Holland*, the Prince never appeared personally, but was always waited upon by the Pensionary for his advice in their affairs; and although the Prince took an Oath of obedience to the States General, as also to the States Provincial of every Province over which he was Governour, yet he was not suffered to pay the Souldiers, the paying of them being kept in themselves, thereby to keep the Souldiers in dependance upon them.

The Members of this Colledge are some for three, other for six Years, and some though but few for life, lest such continuance should lessen the authority of their principals; they have the highest Jurisdiction over the Militia (the Souldiers swearing to them) over all Lands belonging to the Union, with an absolute power of leavying and disbanding Souldiers, advising only with the Governour in it, without acknowledging (as to the thing) any authority in him; but the making Governours of Frontier Garrisons, Captains, Colonels, and Military Officers, was so far in the Stadtholder, as to chuse them out of such as were presented to him by the States, who in their actings are obliged to keep to the Laws of the Land, and Articles of the Union.

The work of this Council is to send and receive Embassadors, to hold intelligence with Princes and States, make Peace and War; to agree upon
general,

general Taxes for maintenance of the general Union, and protect all the members of it. To order the United General Forces both by Sea and Land in time of War. To govern in chief the Conquered Lands in *Brabant, Flanders*, and the hither parts of *Germany* (not being part of any of the seven Provinces) as belonging in common to the Union, with all other matters of general concern, all debates being carried by plurality of Votes, save in making Peace, War, and levying of Taxes, in none of which there must be so much as one negative, and in this Council each Province presides their week alternatively, except refusing to conclude according to plurality of Votes, he resigns to the President for the ensuing Week; as in such Case he is obliged to do.

This Council doth sometimes make and publish Laws in their own names, which concern the Union, but not by any general Commission empowering them therein, but by licence first obtained from their principals. For as the several Deputies of which the States General are constituted, cannot give their Votes but according to the instructions they receive from their respective Superiours (the States Provincial that send them) so they cannot publish any Law binding to the Provinces, without having it first ratified and confirm'd by the States Provincial of each Province, the Provinces being as well careful to preserve their respective Sovereignities and legislative power within themselves, as jointly to defend the whole against their common Enemy.

The second General Colledge is called the
K 2 Council

Council of State, the members of which are sent by the Provincial States of the respective seven Provinces, as the States General are, save that their numbers are certain, and that they Vote by persons, and not by Provinces as the States General do; every Deputy presiding by turns, *Gelderland*, *Zeland*, and *Utrecht*, sending each two, *Holland* three, *Friezeland*, *Overyssel* and *Groningen* each one, in all twelve persons, continuing for two, three, or four Years, according to the Custom of the Province that sends them, save that those sent from *Zeland*, and the person sent by the Nobility of *Holland*, continue for life, as doth also the Treasurer General.

This Council is for all Land Affairs, in nature of a subordinate Council or Committee to the States General, to prepare business for them; to have inspection over the Garrisons, Fortifications, Ammunitions, Stores and the Souldiery; to inform the States General of all things necessary for publick good, presenting to them once a Year, an estimate of the necessary expences for the Year ensuing. Taking care that Peace be kept among all sorts and degrees, and nothing done to the prejudice of the priviledges of any particular Province, offering their advice upon all to the States General. To put in execution the Laws published by the States General, and to see to the observation and keeping of them. To see that the Union receive no damage. To have an inspection over the Treasuries, and the disposal of the Finances belonging to the States General, seeing that they be rightly imployed, giving every three months to the States General, and to all the States Provincial each an account; in this Council the Treasurer
General

General hath a right of Session, with a deliberative but without a decisive Vote, and formerly the Prince of *Orange* as Captain General, was President of this Council, and in those times, if during the life of their General his Successor was chosen, he had also thereby right of Session with a decisive Vote, but neither the General, nor his Successor, had ever any right to come into the Council of the States General.

The third Colledge is the Chamber of Accounts, consisting of two Deputies, sent from each Province, changeable every three Years, this Colledge is a check upon the Council of State (who disposeth of the Finances) in controuling their Orders, examining and stating the accounts of all the several Receivers.

The fourth Colledge is of a different constitution to the other three, for being for Sea affairs, wherein as the Provinces of *Holland*, *Zeland*, and *Friezeland* are most concerned, so they have the greater shares in the Election of their Deputies.

The Marine Affairs are managed in subordination to the States General, by five distinct Admiralties; the first at *Rotterdam*, the second at *Amsterdam*, the third at *Horne*, the fourth at *Middleborough*, and the fifth at *Harlingen*; the three first being in *Holland*, the fourth in *Zeland*, and the fifth in *Friezeland*. Each Admiralty consists of seven Members, four of which are of that Province, and chosen by them where the Admiralty sits, and the other three, out of the four Provinces which have no Admiralties in them, as *Gelderland*, *Utrecht*, *Overysse*, and *Groningen*, and are Elected by the States General out of such persons

sons as are presented to them by the Provincial States of the four forementioned Provinces, and in all the Admiralties, the Commander in Chief at Sea presides, when ever he is present in any of them.

These five Admiralties send twice a Year their Deputies to the *Hague*, where assembling they make the fourth general Colledge, which being only for Naval Affairs, their work is to consult with the States General, Council of State, and Commander in Chief at Sea about their Marine Force, and maintaining of Trade, each of the Admiralties having their particular Treasurers, an account of the receipt and payment of which is given in every three Months to this Colledge for Sea affairs, residing at the *Hague*, and by them to the States General.

The Election of the Sea Captains and Commanders belong to the Admiral General, but the nomination to the Marine Colledge, as doth also a final decision (without appeal) of all differences between Merchants, Ship-Masters, and Seamen, under sixty pounds *Hollands*, which is about thirty six pounds English; and to the end that Navigation be not hindered, they are obliged to a speedy dispatch of all such disputes, and are further to take care, that the States General have their due of all prizes taken by Privateers, of which belongeth one fifth to the States, a tenth to the Admiral, and the rest to the Undertakers, the Seamen and Souldiers of the Ships.

All Captains and Commanders of men of War, both private and publick, give security before they go to Sea, not to wrong the Subjects of any Nation in Friendship with the States. And thus the

the common defence of the *United Provinces*, is managed by the States General, they having under them, the Council of State for Land, the Chamber of Accounts for the Treasury, with the Council deputed by the Admiralties for Sea Affairs, their several works being carried on without envy; for as Faction is that which of all things is most dangerous to a Common-wealth, so to prevent that, as well as out of frugality, they make their employments so bare, that all cause of envying the enjoyment of them is taken away, an Office of 200^l *per annum*, being rare among them, the Sallary of a Member of a Counsellor of State, not being above 150^l *star. per annum*, and of their Secretaries under 100^l. Their allowance to their Embassadors being but 1000^l *star. per annum*, in all places save *Constantinople*, where they allow 1200^l *per annum* to him at that Court.

It is a Tradition and reputed true, that when that great and wise Spanish General the Duke of *Parma*, observed the frugality of the Dutch, in their way of living, (*viz.*) in their Sallaries, and in all their management of affairs, he said, their parsimony would undo his Master, wherein he proved no less than a true Prophet. And certainly those States and Empires that carry on their Governments by good Husbandry, will always have the Commanding advantage of those that are profuse and lavish.

Though this Government cannot be said to be without Corruption, there being no perfection in this World, nor any thing good, but as compared to worse, yet all the care imaginable is (by their fundamentals) taken to prevent it, as by strict Oaths

Oaths against Bribery, either immediately to those in place themselves, or mediately to their Wives, Children, Servants, Relations or others, all members of Councils related to any person, having business before them, being to depart during the debate thereof. And all Advocates at Law, at their Admissions take three Oaths. First, Not to take greater Fees than are allowed by Law. Secondly, Not to take Fees on both sides. And Thirdly, Not to entertain any Cause, which in their Consciences they do not judge just and right. And the effects of these Rules are found, in that none are observed to grow rich meerly by Offices, as in other Countries, nor to get more than very ordinary Estates, by the Ministry, Law, or Physick; which tends all to the encouragement of Trade (the great enricher of them) in thereby disposing men the more to it.

And now upon the whole, to sum up the Governments of the *United Netherlands*, both severally as so many distinct Sovereignties, with independent Jurisdiction, each within themselves, and jointly, as a Common-wealth for common defence and preservation.

First, The particular Government of each Province is much after one and the same manner (*viz.*) by States Provincial (or for our better understanding, by Parliaments) as the Legislative and supreme power of every Province, with Councils of State of other distinct persons subordinate to them, the members of both deriving their powers from the several Orders of each Province (according as is shewed in the foregoing Chapter, called *the Interest of the United Netherlands*) who send their Deputies for several Terms,
to

to such places as are appointed by each Province for their Residence, the States Provincial meeting of course at certain times, and often as they are summoned upon extraordinary occasions by the Council of State, who sit continually, saving that their power ceaseth, during the sitting of the States Provincial.

Secondly, These Provinces being United as one Common-wealth, for the ends only of common safety, are Governed by that Council called the States General, who have chiefly three other Councils or Collidges under them (*viz.*) the Council of State, the Chamber of Accounts, and the Collidge for Naval Affairs, all which as well as the States General; derive their powers and authorities from the several States Provincial (or Parliaments) of the several Provinces, who send their respective Deputies chosen out of themselves to make each Collidge or Council (and to remain at the *Hague* in *Holland*, the place where the Government of the Union is managed) for certain Terms some longer, and some shorter, according to the several Customs of each Province.

The publick Charge of the Union is born by every Province according to the proportions here undermentioned (*viz.*) of 100^l.

	l.	s.	d.
G elderland payeth	05	12	02
Holland	58	06	02 $\frac{1}{4}$
Zealand	09	03	08.
Utrecht	05	16	07 $\frac{1}{2}$.
Friesland	11	13	02 $\frac{3}{4}$.
Overysell	03	11	05.
Groningen	05	16	07 $\frac{1}{2}$.
	100	00	00.

And *Amsterdam* alone, from the benefit of Trade, pays near 25. *per Cent.* of all the Charge of the Province of *Holland*, as that Province pays according to its *quota*, near three fifths, and by supplying what the other Provinces fall short of their proportions, near four fifths of the whole Charge of the Union.

THE

THE
INTEREST
OF
GERMANY,
OR OF THE
EMPIRE
AND
EMPEROUR.

Germany being incompassed with France, the Netherlands, North Sea, Denmark, the Baltick Sea, Prussia, Poland, Hungaria, Switzerland, and the Alpes (which parts it from Italy) is a mighty Country, in a manner round, containing many Provinces, and within them many Sovereignties and Principalities, some under Temporal and Ecclesiastical Princes, others under Republick Cities, Sovereign Earls, Lords and Gentlemen, all making a kind of an undigested Common-wealth, united under the Emperour as their Head, the Choice of whom is in eight Electors; five for the Temporalty, and three for the Church.

Those

Those of the first Order are the King of *Bohemia*, the Dukes of *Bavaria* and *Saxony*, with the Marquess of *Brandenburgh*, and the Prince Elector Palatine of the *Rhine*. For the Plenipotentiaries at the Treaty of Peace at *Munster*, in the Year 1648. finding the last excluded the Electoral Colledge, under pretence of his Father the King of *Bohemia*'s having risen up in defence of the German Liberties, and the Protestant Religion, and the Duke of *Bavaria* advanced to his place (which the Emperor *Ferdinand* the II. had procured the corrupt Dyet, or Parliament in 1628. illegally to Enact, contrary to the Protestations of the Electors of *Saxony*, *Brandenburgh* and *Mentz*, and Fundamental Constitutions of the Empire, by which the Children of the Electors, and other Princes, are not for the offences of their Fathers to forfeit their Inheritance) they had no other expedient for his restoration than by increasing the number of the Temporal Electors, to bring him in as an additional Elector: and although he was antiently the first of the three secular Electors, they could not obtain more for him, than the place due to a new Creation, which is the last.

Those of the second Order are the Archbishops of *Mentz*, *Triers*, and *Colen*. The King of *Bohemia* (until the Peace at *Munster*, that there were but six Electors beside himself) was Umpire in Case of even Votes, but by the addition of one, their number (with the King) is made eight, and without any provision (that I can hear of) for decision in Case of even Votes.

The secular Princes of this Country are many, but the Chief are the four Electors and their Families,

milies, the Kings of *Sweden* and *Denmark* (for what they hold in this Country) the Dukes of *Burgundy*, *Brunswick* and *Lunebourg*, *Saxon Lawembourg*, *Mechelenbourg*, *Wirtembourg*, and *Holstein*, the Landgraves of *Hessen*, the Marquesses of *Baden Durlach*, and *Baden Baden*, the Princes of *Anhalt*, and the younger Families of each of these Houses, with some lately made by the Emperour from Earls to Princes of the Empire, as the Prince of *Orange*, the Grave of *Nassa* (Stadt-holder of *Friezeland*) the Graves of *East Friezeland*, *Salms*, and *Mauritz* of *Nassa*; but though the Grave of *Nassa Dillenbourg* is the Chief of the *Nassa* Family, he refused or at least would not seek to change his Title for that of Prince.

The Ecclesiastical Princes are the three Church Electors, the Bishops and Abbots reputed Princes of the Empire, there being still the Archbishop of *Saltsbourg*, and about twenty other Bishopricks remaining unalienated, and not erected into secular Principalities as the rest are.

The Republick Cities are near if not full seventy in number, whereof three or four are Papists, as many half Papists half Lutherans, one Calvinist (which is *Bremen*) and all the rest of the *August-bourgh* Confession, the Chief of which are *Neurenbourg*, *Strasbourg*, *Ulme*, *Frankford* upon the *Main*, *Hambourgh*, *Lubeck*, *Bremen*, *Collen*, and *August-bourgh*, which last is one of those that are part Papists, but the better half Lutherans, &c.

The Earls and Graves are so many as cannot well be collected, but some of the principal are *Oldenburgh* (now fallen to the King of *Denmark*, the Dukes of *Holstein Goddorp*, and *Holstein Placn*, as joint-Heirs) *Hanan*, *Swartzbourg*, *Mansfeld*, *Hogenstein*, *Nassa*, &c.

The

The antient considerable Barons are not many, but of such as bear the title there are not a few; but Barons, Earls, Princes, Marquesses, or Dukes, Created by the Emperour, have no Session in the Dyet, without obtaining of them their allowance, and being first matriculated in the Imperial Roll, kept by the Elector of *Mentz* for that purpose, so that the number of those that bear several Titles (conferred by the Emperour as meerly titular) and never come into the Dyet, are many.

The Gentry are according to the Custom of their Country, some Sovereigns (as they call them) and others not, as the most of them in *High Germany* are absolute within their own Jurisdictions, some of them owing only a bare homage to the Emperour for what they hold immediately of him, as others do the same to the Prince within whose Territories they lie; but the Princes of the lower parts of *Germany*, together with *Saxony*, *Brandenburgh*, and *Hessen*, governing by Estates, not having power to leavy Taxes but with their consents, there the Gentry are not absolute, but subject to the Laws of their several Countries in common with others, and are only looked upon as the principal Estate next the Prince of the Country, whereby those Princes are the more considerable.

And now for the better describing the greatness of the Empire, I shall make some observations upon each Principal Princes Family, beginning with the House of *Austria*, of which, though the Emperour is as to dignity the first, yet the King of *Spain* is otherwise the Chief. And withal you may take notice, that at present it hath no Heirs Males left, save the present Emperour and the young
King

King of *Spain*, so that the extinction of all the younger branches of this Family, which formerly enjoyed large Territories in the Empire, renders the Emperour the greater Prince in the sole possession of all the Lands belonging to his particular Family, which is at least the fourth part of *Hungaria* (got by Conquest) the Turk having the rest. The Kingdom of *Bohemia* (claimed by the Sword, and confirmed to him by the Peace at *Munster*, of both which Countries he now writes himself Hereditary King.) the Archduchy of *Austria*, the entire Dutchies of *Siria*, *Croatia*, and *Corinthia*, the *Marquisate* of *Moravia*, the County of *Tyroll*, and the supreme Sovereignty of the Dutchy of *Silesia*: for though there are several Dukes in it, with a kind of Sovereign power, they are nevertheless subordinate to the Emperour as Lord *Paramount*, and these are contiguous, beside many other Lands, small Counties and Baronies scattered in several parts of the Empire, so that all his Territories considered, he were a mighty Hereditary Potentate, did he not give himself too much up to the Steerage of the Ecclesiasticks, who seldom if ever prove good Pilots in Civil Affairs.

The Elector *Palatine* hath only the *Lower Palatinate* left him, the *Upper* being given from him by the Treaty at *Munster* to the Duke of *Bavaria*, who was then in possession of it, as was also that part of his former possessions, called the *Bergstraut*, given to the Elector of *Mentz*, upon pretence of a forfeiture of an old Mortgage. This Prince though, (his Revenue being thus paired) he comes far short of what the other Electors have, yet by his wise Conduct, holds as

Princely a State as any of the rest of his Order.

Of this Family there are five branches younger Houses, (*viz.*) the Dukes of *Bavaria*, *Newburgh*, *Zwaibrugg* (of which last House the Grandfather of the present King of *Sweden* was a Younger Brother, and himself now next Heir) the *Paltzgrave* of *Saltzback*, and the Prince of *Zimerin*, Cousin German to the present Elector *Palatine* by his Fathers Younger Brother.

The Prince Palatine of *Zimerin* is lately dead

The Elector of *Bavaria* hath *Upper* and *Lower Bavaria*, the *Upper Palatinate*, and many other scattered Lands in other parts of *Germany*, which taken all together are so great, that did he inherit his Fathers Abilities, as he doth his Territories, he might for Potency be reckoned equal to any of the *German* Princes, save the Emperour, but falling very short in that, he is the less considerable; the Younger Houses of this Family are the same with the Elector *Palatines*, who is his Chief.

This Elector of *Bavaria* is lately dead

The Father of the present Elector of *Saxony*, was a considerable Prince, in being the sole Master of *Saxony*, *Meissen*, the *Upper* and *Lower Lusatia*, with other large Territories, and a person of able parts, but this Elector having three Brothers, who share with him in his Fathers Inheritance, and himself coming very far short of his Abilities, is not by much so great as his Father was.

This Elector of *Saxony* is lately dead

There are several Younger Families of this House, as the Duke of *Saxon-weimer* (whose Ancestor was degraded by the Emperour *Charles* the Fifth

Fifth from the Electoral Dignity, for adhering to *Luther* and that party, the present Electors Ancestor being Installed in his place) the Dukes of *Saxon Altenbourg*, *Saxon Gota*, and the present Electors three Brothers, each of which make a Family.

The Elector of *Brandenburg* is the mightiest Prince in Territories of all the Electors (and the greater Potentate, in being the wisest and greatest Souldier of any Sovereign Prince of this Age) having besides the old and new Marquisates of *Brandenburg*, the half part of *Prusia*, (where he is an independant Sovereign Prince) the *Lower Pomerania*, the several Bishopricks of *Halberstat*, *Minden*, *Cammin*, and *Magdeburg* (after the decease of the present Administrator) the Dutchy of *Cleve*, and Counties of *Marke*, and *Ravensbourg*, with several other Lands. These Bishopricks were erected into Secular Principalities, and given him by the Treaty at *Munster*, in consideration of his losses in the late Wars, and in exchange for the *Upper* and part of the *Lower Pomerania*, which were taken from him to give to the *Swedes*, they being in possession of them at the time of the Treaty for the General Peace; there are of younger Houses of this Family, the several Marquesses of *Barheit*, *Culentbach* and *Anspacke*, and those descended from them.

The Duke of *Burgundy*, who is the King of *Spain*, and hath only the *Franche Comté*, or County of *Burgundy*, left in *Germany*, is without any younger Houses of it, more than the Emperour, who though greater in dignity, is a younger House of *Spain*.

Burgundy now
given to the
French King.

The House of *Brunswick*, and *Lunenbourg* hath
several

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several Branches, all writing Dukes of both Countries, for that in *Germany* all the Titles of the Father are derived to every Son, who are distinguished usually by the places of their chief Residence, and so there are at present four several Dukes Families of *Brunswick* and *Lunenbourg*, the Chief having his Residence at *Woolfenbotle*, the second at *Zell*, the third at *Hanover*, and the fourth at *Osnabourgh*; but though the Title of *Brunswick* belongs to the three last, who write themselves Dukes thereof, because descended from thence, yet they are in *Germany* vulgarly called Dukes of *Lunenburg* (with addition for distinction sake of the place where they live) the whole Land of *Lunenburg* belonging (upon the matter) to them, and but a small part of the Land of *Brunswick*, the most part of that Dutchy being under the Duke of *Brunswick* and *Lunenburg Woolfenbotle*, who though (as I presume) the Chief of the Family, because in common discourse (without other distinction) he is called Duke of *Brunswick* (which is the Chief Dutchy) yet in the Wars of *Gustavus Adolphus*, was not by much so considerable as the Father of the three present Dukes of *Lunenburg*, nor is he of *Woolfenbotle*, as I believe, so great at this time, as either he of *Zell* or *Hanover* is at present, having, or at least lately had, several younger Brothers who share with him.

The House of *Silesia* hath several Dukes Families of it (as is before mentioned) but the Emperour hath the supream power with the greatest part of the Dutchy, and is Heir to some of the Princes if their Male lines fail; but this Dutchy hath in several Ages belonged to several Crowns, as antiently it was reckoned a member of *Poland*,
and

and though it lie in *Germany*, and speaks that Language, it is now reckoned a member of *Bohemia*.

The House of *Mechlenbourg* hath two distinct Families, but descended from one common Ancestor (*viz.*) one called Duke of *Swerine*, and the other Duke of *Castro*, who have betwixt them the whole Dutchy of *Mechlenberg*, save the City of *Wismar* (the chief Town of the Country, and best Haven upon the *Baltick*) with the Land about it, which the Crown of *Sweden* had given to them (being in possession of it) by the Treaty at *Munster*, when by the Peace made at that time, the rest of the Land was restored to the two Princes of the Country, with several Church Lands given them in lieu of what they parted with to the *Swede*.

The House of *Hessen* hath two considerable Families of it, distinguished by the several Titles of *Landgraves* of *Hessen Cassel*, and *Hessen Darmstat*, the latter being a younger House of *Cassel*, and each of these Houses have, or at least lately had younger Brothers, but of little consideration, one of each House being lately turned Papist, of which he, called Cardinal of *Hessen*, is one.

Of the House of *Wirtemberg*, there were not long since (if there are not still) several younger Brothers, all bearing the Titles of Dukes of *Wirtemberg*, but the Chief is he of *Stucgard*, a very considerable Prince, this Dutchy being equal (if not superiour) for fertility to any Country in *Germany*, hath a younger Branch, which from its residence at *Mompelgard*, bears in common discourse the Title of Duke of that Town, but in writing is stiled Duke of *Wirtemberg*.

The Dutchy of *Holstein* contains *Holstein* (properly so called) *Ditchmarsh* and *Idersley*. *Holstein* singly taken (which is a Province of the Empire) is equally divided betwixt the King of *Denmark*, and that Prince called the Duke of *Holstein Goddorpe*, each ruling distinctly within their several Jurisdictions, and yet the supream assembly for the whole is held alternatively one Year in the Kings name, and another in the Dukes name; but of *Ditchmarsh*, and *Idersley*, the Duke hath much the greater share, if not three parts of four. And beside these Countries, the Duke hath the entire Dutchy of *Sleiswick*, which joins upon *Holstein*, where he hath his residence at his Castle called *Goddorpe*, which Dutchy, together with *Ditchmarsh*, did depend upon the Crown of *Denmark*, until the *Swede* by their late Treaty of Peace with that Crown, made the Duke (whose Sister is Queen Regent of *Sweden*) as to those two Countries an Independant Prince.

There are of this House two younger Families, one called Duke of *Holstein Plain*, the other the Duke of *Holstein Sunderbourgh*, but the last by their numerous younger Brothers, are all brought so low, and so dispersed in the World for their subsistence, that they deserve the taking no more notice of than naming, save only, that that excellent Princess the present Electress of *Brandenburg* is a Daughter of that House, having been the former Duke of *Zells* Widdow, and now the Electors second Lady; who Married her upon condition of turning *Calvinist*, being before a *Lutheran*, according to her Family (a good example for Reformed Princes.)

The Marquesses of *Baden* are two several Families

lies, and some say of two distinct originals, others of one and the same, and that they have agreed upon entailing their Lands upon each other, in Case of failure of Heirs Males. The most considerable is he called the Marquess of *Baden Durlach*, a *Lutheran*, the other a *Papist*, who bears the name of Marquess of *Baden Baden*, and is of much less consideration than the first; but being a Romanist in Religion, is now (or was very lately) by the Emperours Election, the Chief Judge of the Imperial Court of *Spyers*; there were of both these Families not long since, several younger Brothers, but being then Unmarried, they did little prejudice to their Chiefs.

The House of *Anhalt* is reckoned by some to be the antientest Family in *Germany*, having been formerly Electors, and to make way for the Family of *Brandenburg*, was degraded from that Dignity, without any other material reason. Their Country is but small, and lyeth encompassed with *Lutheran* Countries, as *Brunswick*, and *Saxony*, &c. but the people as well as their Princes, are of *Calvins* perswasion. This Family bears only the name of Prince, (though as before-mentioned was formerly so great) which here in *Germany* is in degree under Dukes, Marquesses, and Landgraves. There are five several Families of this House, much of equal power and revenue, living all in the Country of *Anhalt*, making by consent a kind of Common-wealth among themselves, the eldest in Years being ordinarily reckoned the Director of all the Families, he calling them together upon all occasions of Consultation for the good of the whole; they are generally persons of great Vertue, Worth and Gallantry, but of no great Estates.

The Dukes of *Saxon Lawenburg*, are also very antient, and of the same original with the Princes of *Anhalt*, and have likewise been Electors, and without any great reason deprived of that dignity (to make way for *Saxony*) There were in my Memory, several Brothers gallant persons of this Family, which are now reduced to two, and they without Heirs Male, and if they die so, the Princes of *Anhalt* succeed in their Inheritance as Heirs to them, which will be a convenient addition, their Countries bordering upon one another.

These are the Chief of the Princes of *Germany*, and if any be omitted (as probably there may be some made lately by the Emperour from Counts to Princes) they are such, as are but of little consideration. The rest of the Lands in *Germany* not belonging to secular Princes, are enjoyed by the Popish Church, free Imperial Towns, Sovereign Lords, Earls, and Gentlemen, of all which there are too many to enumerate.

Germany being thus possessed, is divided into ten Circles, called the *Austrian*, *Burgundian*, *Nether-rhinish*, *Bavarian*, *Saxon*, *Franconian*, *Swaben*, *Upper-rhinish*, *Westphalian*, and *Nether Saxon* Circles.

1. The *Austrian* Circle contains some Principalities, Earldoms, Bishopricks, and several Convents, with the Lands belonging to them, beside the Territories appertaining to the *Austrian* Family, which being very large make this the greatest of the ten, and gives the Chief of the House of *Austria* the right of assembling the Circle and presiding in it, they holding themselves too great to have a Colleague in the Command of this Circle,

cle, as most of the other Circles have.

2. The *Burgundian* Circle contains *Burgundy*, or *Franche Comté*, with several other small Counties: *Charles* the Fifth added the seventeen *Netherland* Provinces to this Circle, but now there cannot be any reckoning made of them, and the King of *Spain*, to whom the County of *Burgundy* belongs, hath the right alone of assembling this Circle.

This County of *Burgundy* is now granted to the *French* King.

3. The *Nether Rhinish* Circle, contains the Territories of the Prince Elector *Palatine*, the three Church Electors, beside other Church Lands, with several Earldoms; and the right of assembling this Circle and presiding in it, belongs to the several Electors *Palatine*, and *Mentz* jointly.

4. The *Bavarian* Circle contains the Dutchy of *Bavaria*, some Principalities, several Earldoms and Baronies, the Archbishoprick of *Salzburg*, some other Bishopricks, with several other Church Lands. The right of summoning this Circle, and presiding in it, belongeth to the Elector of *Bavaria*, and the Archbishop of *Salzburg*.

5. The *Upper Saxon* Circle, contains several Bishopricks, with the Lands belonging to several Church Orders, the several Countries of the several Electors of *Saxony* and *Brandenburg*, with other Principalities, several Earldoms and Baronies, the Elector of *Saxony* having the right alone of calling the assembly of this Circle, and presiding in it.

6. The *Franconian* Circle contains three Bishopricks, several Convents, Church Jurisdictions, and the *Teutonick* Order, with the Lands belonging

ing to them, several Earldoms and Imperial Cities, with their Territories, whereof the great City of *Neurenburg* is one, the Bishop of *Bamburg* having the right of calling this Assembly and presiding in it, when the matters are Ecclesiastical, and when Political, the Marquess of *Brandenburg Culmbach*,

7. The *Swaben* Circle is a Territory belonging to several Lords, to three Bishops, and many Convents, beside that it contains the Dutchy of *Wirtemberg*, the Marquisat of *Upper Baden*, sixteen Earldoms, and many Imperial free Cities; the right of calling this Circle, and presiding in it, belongeth to the Duke of *Wirtemberg*, and Bishop of *Constance*.

8. The *Upper Rhinish* Circle contains several Dukedoms and Principalities, eighteen Earldoms, many Imperial free Cities, several Bishopricks and Convents; the calling of this assembly and presiding in it, belongeth to the Bishop of *Wormes*, and the Prince *Palatine* of *Zimerine*.

9. The *Westphalia* Circle contains four Dukedoms, two Principalities, two and twenty Baronies and Earldoms, thirteen Imperial free Cities, some Bishopricks and Convents, and the calling together of this Circle belongeth to the Bishop of *Munster*, and the Duke of *Gulick*.

10. The *Nether Saxon* Circle contains the several Dutchies of *Brunswick*, *Lunenburg*, *Mechelburg*, *Saxon Lawemburg*, *Holstein*, several Earldoms, the several Bishopricks of *Bremen*, *Verden*, and *Magdeburg* (all now alienated and erected into secular Principalities) four Bishopricks, and six Imperial free Cities. The calling together of this Circle, and presiding in it, did belong to the Archbishop

Archbishop of *Magdeburg*, and the Duke of *Lawemburg*, but now the Elector of *Brandenburg*, upon the account of being Master of *Magdeburg*, and the King of *Sweden* being the same of the Bishoprick of *Bremen*, they two take their turns in this Circle.

Germany thus divided into ten parts is united in a Dyet or Assembly of three Estates. The first being that of the Electoral Colledge. The second that of the Princes, as well Ecclesiastical as Secular, with Abbots, Counts and Barons, all making but one Estate. The third that of the free Imperial Cities. In the vacancy of an Emperour the Empire is governed by the Elector *Palatine*, as Vicar for the upper part of *Germany*, and of the Country lying upon the River *Rhine*, with *Swaben* and *Franconia*, &c. as all lying upon the River *Elb*, &c. is governed by the Elector of *Saxony*, as Vicar for all those parts, the Elector of *Mentz* being obliged to summon all the Electors to meet at *Franckford* upon the *Main*, within three Months after the Death of the Emperour, for the Election of his Successor.

The Dyet (which is as our Parliament) is called together by the Emperour after he hath first obtained the consent of the Electors, which he is obliged to ask as essential to the being of it, and to call it as often as the Electors shall judge needful, and intimate the same to him. It's the Legislative Power considers of all matters of publick concern, and as need requires grants aids (though very rarely) against the Turk, or a common Invader, and not otherwise, and then only according to the known standing proportions of each Elector, Prince, Free City, Earl, Baron, and all that

that are taxable, some Cities, as *Neuremburg* (which hath as I was told upon the place, eleven Cities (whereof one is an University) and a thousand Villages belonging to it) paying more than some Electors, the Emperour having no standing Revenue from the Empire as Emperour.

To this Dyet thus constituted of three Estates, lyeth an appeal in extraordinary Cafes from the Imperial Court of *Spyers*, but seldom happens, the Judges of the Court being kept in awe by being upon any occasion summoned to the Dyet, to give an account of the Decrees made by them some time before. For there lyeth an Appeal to this Judicatory at *Spyers*, from all the Sovereignities in *Germany*, in all Civil Causes, above certain known sums, which are in some places more, and in some places less, according to the Customs of several places, save that the Electors and some other Princes, are by special privilege absolute in their Judicatures, without Appeal from them to the Chamber at *Spyers*.

And besides this privilege, the Electors have others very great, as a power of deposing the Emperour as well as of electing of him when they shall judge him guilty of Mal-administration, but especially the power of the Elector *Palatine* seems to exceed all the rest, in that (as the *German Writers* affirm) he hath the right (upon complaint, and at the suit of others) authoritatively to convene the Emperour for Debt, with other privileges tending to the limiting and bounding of the Emperour, who also ought not to make Peace or War without consent of the Dyet.

The Court of *Spyers* is constituted of Deputies sent by the Emperour, the Electors, and the ten Circles,

Circles, to the number of about thirty or forty persons, the Emperour as such, having the Prerogative to chuse the chief Judge, and send four Deputies.

The *Germans* are as to Religion of different persuasions, as *Lutherans*, *Calvinists*, and *Papists*. The *Lutheran* Princes and Countries are the Elector of *Saxony*, and all the several Branches of that House, with their several Countries. The Dukes of *Brunswick* and *Lunenbourg*, and all their Branches and Countries (save that he of *Hanover* is lately turned *Papist*, but without Children) the several Dukes of *Wirtemberg*, *Holstein*, *Saxon Lawenburg*, *Mechlenburg*, the several Marquesses of *Brandenburg*, *Culembach*, *Anspache*, and *Barreit*, the Marquesses of *Baden Durlach*, and the Landgrave of *Hessen Darmstadt* (of which last House there is one lately turned *Papist*, as there is also one of *Mechlenburg*, but their Countries do all continue *Lutherans*) with the Prince of *Anhalt Serbst*, many Earls and Barons, and near, if not full, sixty free Imperial Cities, beside the Kings of *Sweden* and *Denmark*, and all their Dominions which they hold in the Empire.

The Reformed Princes (called for distinction sake *Calvinists*) with their Territories, are the Elector *Palatine*, the Elector of *Brandenburg* himself (but his Dominions most *Lutherans*) the Duke of *Swaburg*, the Landgrave of *Hessen Cassel*, one of the Dukes of *Mechlenburg* (the other as is before said without Children, turned lately *Papist*) the Duke of *Zimerin*, the Princes of *Anhalt*, excepting him of *Serbst*, who is a *Lutheran*, with many Earls and Barons in *Westphalia*, &c. and the City of *Bremen*,

The Prince of *Zimerin* lately dead.

men, the only Calvinist free City in all the Empire.

The Popish Princes are the Emperour, the Elector of *Bavaria*, the three Ecclesiastical Electors, the Duke of *Newburg*, the Marquess of *Baden Baden*, one Duke of *Lunenburg*, and another of *Mechlenburg*, two younger Brothers of the two several Houses of *Hessen*; but all the several Countries, of the four last are *Lutherans* (the Princes in this Country, having no great influence upon their Subjects in point of Religion) with Bishops, Abbots, and Convents, and their several Countries, as also some Earls and Barons, and three or four Imperial free Cities.

The *Lutheran* and *Calvinist* Countries are in the general entirely of the one or other Religion, but beside *Bavaria*, few of the Popish Countries are so, for even the Emperours Hereditary Lands had many both *Lutherans* and *Calvinists* in them, and have so still, if the late persecution hath not lessened them, and in several Countries belonging to Popish Bishops and Abbots, many *Lutherans*, and some *Calvinists*, have not only a right, but do also actually enjoy the publick exercise of their several Religions, without disturbance, and much more without Persecution.

The several Provinces of *Franconia*, *Alsatia*, *Swaben*, and *Westphalia*, are Countries without any particular Princes, denominatively bearing the Titles of them, as other Countries of *Germany* have (but the Duke of *Saxon Lawenburg*, writes Duke of *Westphalia* and *Hungaria*, but both meerly Titular, and not heard of save in publick writings to make a noise) the Proprietors being a mixture of several Princes, Earls, free Cities, and Romish Ecclesiasticks, which causeth in each
of

of them the like variety in Religion, the three first being *Lutherans* and *Papists*, and the last *Calvinists*, *Lutherans* and *Papists*.

The Kingdom of *Bohemia* (though lying in *Germany*, and in a manner encompassed with it) I pass by, because a distinct Kingdom, speaking a distinct Language, not esteemed part of *Germany*, nor comprised within the Divisions of it, and without Session in the Dyet, or being taxed by it, as *Silesia* is also in the same condition, save that High Dutch is their Language.

And now after this brief account of *Germany*, it may well upon the whole be observed, that were it under a good method of Government, with a perfect general Union for common safety and preservation, it would not only according to the eye of reason, be (speaking after the manner of men) invincible, but also able above other Nations to become the Arbitrator among its Neighbours. For the situation of the Country, and the accommodations of it, in plenty of men, of stout Spirits, and strong Bodies, most fit and apt for War, abounding in Provisions and all sorts of Ammunition for Land Service, seem to render such a design its proper business; but as it is constituted of so many Sovereignties, and of several kinds, with such variety of Religions, the dividing of it (which can only be its Death) and so prevent it in keeping the ballance of Christendom (which may be reckoned its natural Province) is the easilier to be wrought; and considering the former vast greatness of the House of *Austria*, and the Conjunction of Popish Counsels and Forces, for bringing it under the Arbitrary Dominion of the Emperour, it is matter of great admiration
it

it was not effected. And since the *Germans* are at this time delivered from all danger thence, it ought to be their wisdom to secure themselves against the like for the future, their true Interest being best discovered by remembring the hazard it hath (in our time) run of being reduced unto, Slavery and Popery, and how it was miraculously delivered from the bondage of both.

The danger of *Germany* hath formerly at any time been in, hath been either from their Emperours dividing of them with design of Usurpation, or from the invasion of the Turk, no other Neighbour so long as they remain united, being in any kind their match.

When the House of *Austria* contended for the Universal Monarchy, knowing it would be of great disadvantage to own the design, they thought it most politick to colour it with a pretence of Religion, as that which would not only ingage the whole Romish party for them (Religion having a great influence upon the spirits of men) but also divide *Germany*, without which they could not hope to prevail against so mighty a Country, nor without subduing it to proceed in their work, and therefore upon that consideration, they gave their faction or party the name of the Catholick League, but the contrary party answering them in the naming theirs the Evangelical League (names being in some Cases of great efficacy as *Cromwel* found in naming his opposers Levellers) by the assistance of *Gustavus Adolphus* King of *Sweden*, the latter brought the first so low, that they then fled to the Artifice of corrupting the Princes of *Germany*, by tempting promises of advantage in case they would desert
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the *Swede*, suggesting jealousies of them, by which means the *Swedes* (who came into *Germany* for relief of the oppressed Princes and States) after their King *Gustavus* was slain, were left destitute of any assistance, more than from that famous and eminently constant House of *Hessen Cassel*, (who are *Galvinists*) all the rest of the considerable ruling Princes, either turning Neuters, or declaring against them; and had not the *French* better understood their Interest, in stepping seasonably in to the assistance of the *Swede* and the *Landgrave*, than the rest of the Princes did in deserting of them, and making their Peace with the Emperour, *Germany* had lost its liberty, and fallen under the absolute Dominion of the *Austrian Family*, whereas by their assistance freedom was preserved, and an honourable peace obtained.

Now, although *Germany* was thus by an overruling hand of providence kept from ruine, yet the uncertainty of the Princes at that time when subversion so much threatned them, and the unsteadiness of them to their own Interests, in being drawn from it by plausible promises, which could have nothing less at the bottom, than at last their own destruction, shew the danger that the Empire was, and ever will be in, from the variety of petty Sovereigns, who will be always subject to temptations. For though the *German* Princes, being firmly united in one common cause for common safety and preservation, cannot be in danger from any Nation, yet by dividing of them, they may easily be sacrificed to the will and lusts of Neighbour Potentates, less formidable than themselves.

The Turk hath formerly made several attempts
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upon the Empire, but could never advance further than *Vienna* (the Emperours Residence, and little more than the entrance into *Germany*) and from thence he was then forced to retreat with a loss he did not in some time after recover; and indeed the great distance considered betwixt *Germany* and *Constantinople*, from whence the Turk must have the main of his supplies and recruits, so long as *Germany* remains true to their Interest in being unanimous, the fear of him is in no degree equal to that of continuing the Imperial Crown too long in one and the same Family: for as the covetous and ambitious nature of man is never contented, but always undervaluing what it hath, and pressing after more; so the great advantages that follow the Crown, from the power it hath of conferring honours, places, giving rewards, and promising more upon success, is sufficient for a Prince, that hath an old root of succession in great Hereditary Dominions of his own, to frame at any time a party for Usurpation, where he is but Elective. And that which run the Empire (not many years past) into so much danger of being reduced under the sole Dominion of the Emperour, and therein of the loss of their liberty, was keeping the Imperial dignity so many Ages in one and the same Family, and especially in one so mighty of it self as *Austria* at that time was, as well as in great Allies, together with the emulation and indigency of some of the Princes subjecting them to temptations, in hopes of bettering their conditions by adhering to the Emperour.

Germany being a Country that affords great variety and plenty of staple Commodities, and accommodated

commodated with the several Rivers of *Elb, Weiser,* and *Rhine*, of great use and length, falling into the North Seas, with good Havens and Ports upon the *Baltick*, is capable of the greatest improvement by Trade, but is unhappily so obstructed in it, by the multitude of Soveraignties, laying as many Tolls upon Merchandize, passing to and fro, both by Land and Water, that without taking them off, it can never come forward in Trade: and of this prejudice (that wise Prince) the Elector *Palatine* being sensible, made a motion at the last Dyet at *Franckford*, to have them taken away, freely offering (like a Father of his Country) to lay down those (though very considerable) due to him upon the River *Rhine*, wherein had he prevailed, it could not but have been of vast advantage to the whole Nation; but though the Elector of *Brandenburg* (whose Tolls are likewise great upon the *Rhine*) seconded the *Palatines* motion, it not agreeing with the Interest of the Ecclesiasticks (who are for getting in their time all they can to themselves, without any regard to the publick) the Elector of *Mentz* first, and after him the other Ecclesiasticks, that have also Tolls upon the *Rhine* (preferring their own private before the general good, as they there universally do) so opposed the proposal, that it fell to the ground, and left *Germany* (whose people have a genius for Trade) under no increase of advantage for Commerce, nor more encouragement in it, than the liberty the free Imperial Cities, and their prudent examples give to the people, so that were it not for those Cities, Commerce being accounted in this Country, inconsistent with Nobility or

This Elector
since dead.

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Gentry, and Slavery rendring a Peasantry unfit for it, this great and good Land, wonderfully accommodated for Trade, would have little benefit by it; and therefore since it is Trade that makes every Country great, it is the Domestick Interest of *Germany*,

First, To maintain their free Towns in their just rights and liberties, and that in reference to the advancement of Trade, which cannot be improved without liberty; for I dare undertake to foretel, that those Princes which do promise to themselves great advantage, in the subduing of their Neighbour Republicks, shall find more loss by the decay of Trade, than the reducement of them will occasion to their Countries, than they will find profit by becoming Masters of them, for nothing makes Countries rich but Trade, and nothing increaseth Trade but freedom; as *Stade*, *Magdeburg*, and *Munster*, in their several Countries do sufficiently evince, those Cities, as well as the Countries wherein they lie, being now miserable poor to what they formerly were under liberty; and I have been credibly Informed, that the Duke of *Brunswick*, from a sense he hath of the decay of Trade in his Country, since his reducement of the City of *Brunswick*, doth already repent his taking of it. And indeed I know no reason that can be assigned, why *Poland* that is so good and rich a Country of it self, furnished with natural advantages for Trade, should come so far short of *Germany* in Wealth as it doth, but the want of freedom and liberty in their Government to incourage Trade, and of Free Cities in the Country, to carry on Commerce, which *Germany* is happy in.

Secondly,

Secondly, It is their Interest to maintain their free Cities in their Liberties, because under freedom, they are and will ever be, more formidable Bulworks against the incroachments of their Emperours, or any other Potentate upon their rights, than they will be in the hands of any Prince, and that their formidableness adds much to the greatness of the Empire; and though this may happily be excepted against by some out of a sortish averfeness to freedom, yet the advantage they were of to the Assertors of liberty in the War of *Gustavus Adolphus*, doth fully make it good.

Thirdly, Because as it is the general Interest of all *Germany*, in reference to their safety, to maintain the Republicks, so it is especially the particular Interest of all the Protestant Princes to uphold them, in that they are all (save some few) of their perswasion, and are so many sure Fortresses against Popery, and do contribute exceedingly to the casting the ballance of Dominion on the Protestant side; beside that the prosperity of them, beyond what is found in the Popish Cities, is of good example to the rest of the Empire, both as to Religion and Industry.

Fourthly, It is the Domestick Interest of *Germany*, to reduce the Election of their Emperours to the Primitive Institution, in not continuing that dignity too long in any one Family, for although they have at present escaped the danger of being subdued by the House of *Austria*, that Family being now not only brought low, but also in want of Princes of active and daring Spirits, with able parts (there being none left save the Emperour and young King of *Spain*) necessary for so great an undertaking, it cannot well in our

Age put their Liberties any more in hazard, yet the example may be dangerous to posterity, when peradventure *Austria* may recover its vigour, or a more puissant Potentate obtain the Crown. And as to that exception against laying aside this present Family, because of their ability to oppose the Turk, it may be answered, that their Hereditary Countries lying next to the Dominions of the Grand Signior, it will be as much the particular Interest of the House of *Austria*, without the Imperial Crown, to oppose the Turk, as if they had that dignity.

Fifthly, It is their Interest to avoid the Election of a Prince that may be too great for them, because aspiring to usurpation doth ordinarily accompany greatness.

Sixthly, It is their Interest to maintain a good Intelligence and Union among themselves, not admitting difference in Religion to make any in State (lest thereby they give advantage to their Enemies) but to be equal towards all, protecting the meanest as well as the greatest, in their just rights and liberties, without suffering any to oppress another, and to lay it down as a certain Maxim, that ruine can never overtake them, but by division.

And could the Nobility and great men of *Sweden* be content with their condition, and to live upon what God hath given them, that Kingdom might be of great use to this Country, in not only opposing (upon all occasions) the incroachments of their Emperours, or ambitious Neighbours, but also in ballancing of the Romish party, making it thereby, as well the general Interest of the Empire, as the particular concern of the Protestant

testant Princes and States, to preserve and protect them (though strangers) as well as others, in the enjoyment of their possessions in *Germany*; but by their success in the Wars of this latter Age, they have with the spoils of other Countries, been so habituated to live (and brought to affect a Grandeur) so much above their *Swedish* Revenues, that it may well be foretold, that if ever by Peace their supplies from abroad come to fail, they will be subjected to the profitable temptations of any that shall desire to set them at work, without regarding against whom it is, and so change the Interest of the Empire, from that of preserving them, to that of driving of them out of the Country.

Seventhly, It is the particular Interest of the Protestant Princes, to endeavour to undeceive the Popish Princes, by making them sensible, that the pretence of Religion, which their Priests and Jesuits do fraudulently make use of to stir them up against the Protestant party, is only that they may thereby the better gradually destroy them both, their true Principle being for one Monarch, as it is for one Priest or Pope. And thus to come to their Foreign Interest, now they are delivered from all danger from the House of *Austria*, that is

First, To be jealous of the *French*, not believing themselves secure, until they have reduced them within former bounds, who having jostled the *Austrian* Family out of their design for the Universal Monarchy, seem to be stepped into the same themselves, and to be more formidable in it than they ever were. And as all other Princes and States, as well as those of *Germany*, ought to be

jealous of that Nation, who declare the acquiring of glory a sufficient ground (without other cause) for killing and destroying their Neighbours, so they ought all to agree, for the fettering and restraining such loose and unchristian Principles, especially since nothing more is needful in the Case than a general resolution for denying of them Levies; for from the slavery of that people, such is their unfitness for War, that when ever they shall be confined to home for Souldiers, or be denied recruits by *England, Germany, and Switzerland*, they will be constrained as well as contented to live in Peace with their Neighbours.

Secondly, It is the Interest of *Germany*, to be careful to keep the *Baltick Sea* divided as it now is, not suffering the ingrossing of it by any one Prince, especially not by their Emperours, nor this present Family to be Masters of any Sea Ports; for had they formerly had the advantage of Havens for Harbours, forming, and raising of a Navy, the *Swedes* could never have entered the Empire, nor the Emperour have probably failed in his design for Usurpation.

Thirdly, It is the Interest of the Princes to concern themselves in the Election of the King of *Poland* (because bordering upon them) opposing so far as is possible, the Choice of either *French* or *Swede* to be King, in regard of the advantages that those two Potentates have each already upon them, in the several footings they have in the Empire, and to obstruct their Emperours arriving at it himself, lest by such an acquisition, he should prove too great for them. And thus the Interest of the Empire is the supporting of the free Towns in reference to trade, as the only way to greaten the Nation,

Nation, to unite for the preservation of every individual in their just rights and liberties, and opposing all incroachments of their Emperours and Neighbours, or Invasion of Foreigners.

And now as to the particular Interest of the Emperour, that is much changed from what it was, for formerly he judged it his Interest, to divide the Princes of the Empire, that thereby destroying them by degrees, he might at last make himself absolute Master of them all, and in order to that design, to oblige the Pope and his party by persecuting of all his Protestant Subjects throughout his Dominions; but now neither Pope nor *Spaniard* being able to afford him any considerable assistance, and the *French* King grown so great, that should the young King of *Spain* be taken away, he would probably quarrel with him for the Succession of the *Spanish* Dominions, and after stripping him of his most remote Inheritance, then invade him in *Germany*, which circumstances make it his true Interest to lay aside all persecution, and all designs of incroaching upon the Empire, endeavouring cordially to reconcile and satisfy all persuasions and Interests, making a firm and real Union throughout the Empire, for common Justice, defence and preservation, and after the example of the wise Venetians, to exclude the Ecclesiasticks all share in his Councils and Civil Government; for if he shall still in his severity against the Reformed, hearken to the Jesuits (who according to their Church Politicks, chuse always rather to be Masters of Error, than Scholars of Truth) they will infallibly be his ruine: And beside the Alarms from *France*, to awaken him herein, the experience he hath had
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of twenty two Years of Peace (save a little exercise from the Turk) may convince him of the truth hereof, in that though it is now so long since the Treaty at *Munster* in 1648. which gave him a general rest and quiet, instead of augmenting in Power and Riches, as all good Governments do in times of Peace, he is decayed and grown less considerable than in time of War, and chiefly by his persecutions in *Hungaria*, and the rest of his Hereditary Countries (that part of *Hungaria* yet remaining unto him, being ready to revolt unto the Turk) unto which he hath been solely acted by his Ecclesiasticks, to whom (out of an excess of blind devotion) he hath too too much given himself up. And thus I have done with the Interest of the Empire and Emperour.

THE

THE INTEREST OF

Switzerland.

THose several United Countries known by the general name of *Switzerland*, are small and Mountainous, surrounded with *Germany*, *France*, the *Alpes*, and the Lake of *Geneve*, the last parting them from *Savoy*. By this name are understood thirteen Provinces, or (as they call them) Cantons, each being a Republick, and absolute Sovereigns, as to their particular Governments and Affairs within their respective Jurisdictions, all which being united for common safety and preservation, make for those ends only a Conjunctive Common-wealth.

These Cantons are called *Zurick*, *Bearne*, *Bas-fell*, *Shafshousen*, *Uri*, *Zwits*, *Underwalden*, *Lucern*, *Zugg*, *Fribourg*, *Solatourn*, *Apenzell*, and *Glaris*, which are of several Religions, the four first being all Reformed or Calvinists, the next seven entirely Papists, and the two last mixed, though the major part of both are Reformed: For it is an infallible observation, that where ever in any City or Country, Protestantism and Popery are but equally priviledged, countenanced and tolerated

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rated by the Magistrate, there the Reformed exceed the other much in number, as at *Augsbourgh, &c.* The four Calvinist Cantons are more than trebble the bigness of all the seven Popish, which for their smallness are called the little Cantons, so that that properly called *Switz*, gives not its name to the whole by way of eminence, as is usual in such Cases, and as *Holland* doth in the *United Netherlands* (it not being a fourth part so considerable as some of the greatest, and especially not as *Bearne*) but because it was the first that asserted its liberty.

As their Religion is of several kinds, so are their Forms of Government, some being wholly Democratical, as *Switz, Uri, Underwalden, Zug, Glaris*, and *Apenzell*, especially the two last, and the rest, some more, others less Aristocratical, but none perfectly so. At *Bassell* the Gentry are excluded the Government, for having practised the subversion of it, and some of the little Cantons have no Nobility; but at *Bearne* (which is reckoned in bigness a fourth part of the whole thirteen, and as big as some six of the little Cantons) *Zurick, Solatourne, &c.* the Gentry are in great esteem, and the Chief in their Government, their Ancestors not having forfeited their right to it, by treachery to their Countries, as some of the others did, for which they were excluded.

Beside the respective Jurisdictions of each to these Cantons, they have several Territories belonging, some to all the Cantons in common, save *Apenzell*, others to but 3, 7, 8, 9, &c. as the four Bailiwicks in *Italy* (viz. *Mendriz, Valmadia, Lugana* and *Logarno*) belong to twelve Cantons,
and

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and that of *Bade* to eight; as others obey, some seven, and some but three Cantons, &c.

The General Council for the Union meets of course every four and twentieth of *June* at *Bade* (a Bailiwick belonging to eight Cantons as is before observed) to consider of all their common concern for the Year ensuing, and at other times as oft as occasion requires, *Zurick* having the privilege as first in rank to summon the Assembly.

There are also several other Republicks that are the Confederates of these thirteen Cantons, as the *Grisons*, *Valaisians*, the Cities of *Rontviell*, *Mulhusen*, *Biell*, *Geneva*, and *St. Gall*, &c. all Republicks, and the last such zealous Calvinists, that though the Abbot (called by the name of the Town, and reputed also a Prince of the Empire) hath his Convent of Benedictines, his Palace, and Residence in the City with all the Country round about it, even unto the very Walls of the City, yet is not able to gain any of the Citizens to his Religion, there not being a Papist in the Town but what are within the Walls of the Abby, an Argument of great Vertue and Zeal in the Magistrates and Ministers, for were there a looseness in either, there would be a defection in the people.

At my abode here, there being one of the Chief of the City condemned to die for Adultery, I saw the tears and Prayers of his Wife, and many small Children, upon their Knees to the Magistrates for his pardon rejected, which methought argued great equality in their Justice.

But these petty Republicks, are not all Confederates

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federates with the whole thirteen Cantons, but some with more, and others with fewer of them according to their several stipulations, and the County of *Newburg*, or in English *Newcastle*, which is a Confederate and Ally of the Canton of *Bearne* alone, are so zealous in the Reformed Religion, that they will not suffer (as I was informed) the Duke of *Longevil*, who is their Prince, to use singing Mass (which they call High Mass) in his own Castle when he is with them, but must content himself with reading Mass.

These Countries are (as is the portion of most Mountainous places) happy in rich Vallies, affording plenty of Provisions, and all necessaries for the sustentation of Nature; but their situation, in their great distance from Sea, want of Rivers (which is in some measure supplied with Lakes) and staple Commodities, renders them incapable of much more Trade, than that of hiring out their men to other States and Princes for Souldiers, which they do upon two accounts. First, for that being encompassed with potent Princes, and having no Wars at home, they hold it necessary to have a Nursery of Souldiers abroad; and secondly, for that otherwise their Country having no Trade to Sea, nor Wars at home, they should be overstocked with people; but what they do herein, is with the preservation of liberty, no man being forced to Foreign Service, but every one left in that to his own choice.

Their other greatest advantages are from a thorough-fair for Travellers, Merchants, and Merchandize to *Italy*, *Germany*, and *France*, having two great Marts annually at *Zurzack* in the Bailiwick of *Bade*, where *Germans*, *Italians*, and
French

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French meet, with their several Commodities, with a large linen Manufacture at *St. Gall*, and some benefit the University at *Bassell*, and several *Gymnasiums*, bring to their respective Cantons.

Now although these Countries making a Merchandize of their super-numerary people, with condition always of calling them home upon occasions, may seem to render them formidable to their Neighbours, yet several Circumstances considered, they are unfit for Conquests. As first, being encompassed with Countries greater, and more potent than themselves, as with *Germany* and *France*, should they grow ambitious, they would easily be run down. Secondly, wanting Horse and Money, their Country having a scarcity of both, especially of the latter, they are not accommodated for Invasions, in that invaders, where present success cannot be relied upon, must not be unprovided of either. And thirdly, their Constitution being, as in State a mixture of Governments, so in Church of Religion, they are only fit for common defence, not being whilst under such circumstances, capable of agreeing upon a design for acquisition, each Religion being likely to oppose the falling upon those of their own belief, beside that the difficulty in satisfying every concern, upon the good success of their Arms, and the many occasions that would arise from thence of differences among them, shew their chief security, and internal Interest, to consist in being content with their own; and as a means to keep what they have, to nourish and maintain in their Neighbours their present principle of obstructing one the others subduing of them, as that wherein consists their safety: from all which
their

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their Interest may be Calculated to be in seeking Peace with all their Neighbours, where they are not necessitated to Arms, studying the preservation of their several Countries and Liberties, nature seeming to have fitted them most for defence in the difficulty of their Advantages, and in the courage and aptness of their men for foot service, to make good and keep the passages into their Country; and in order to this, they ought as their external Interest, to hold a good Intelligence with the German Princes, and free Cities, and particularly with the *United Netherlands*, from whom (in respect of the affinity that is betwixt them, both in Religion and Government, without any possibility of their prejudicing them in their Trade) they may expect as hearty an assistance, as so great a distance is capable of.

And further, they ought not to suffer difference in Religion to be any ground of quarrel, nor the Popish Cantons their Church-men (whose Politicks are always both selfish and destructive) to have any influence upon their Councils, but after the example of the wise *Venetians*, to banish them their Consultations, their Maxims (to which they are constant and true) being to foment animosities against the Reformed Cantons, which the others ought carefully to prevent, keeping close to this truth, that disunion will be their dissolution.

And yet further, as with great reason they formerly (being then jealous of the House of *Austria*, because of their pretensions to them) held a good correspondence with *France*, so it is now the Interest of them all, to be jealous of the growing greatness of that King, and being firm
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to the House of *Austria* (the danger of the Emperour being at present over) to hold a true Friendship with them; and this is all I have to say at this time of *Switzerland*, besides observing the great prudence and honest policy of the Reformed Cantons, in their Law, that obligeth every one amongst them that shall turn Papists, to quit the Country, with liberty to sell their Estates, and go into a Popish Canton, or whither else they please, and this they do not upon a Religious but civil account; for it is not their delusive, ridiculous, and Romantick Doctrines of Transubstantiation, Purgatory and Super-erogation, &c. that they quarrel with, but their owning a Foreign head, holding that no Faith is to be kept with those they call Hereticks, and that the murdering of such is meritorious, with other the like Principles destructive of all Morality, rendering them unsociable and not fit for the Conversation of Protestants, which is the reason of their Law. And in the Canton of *Apenzell* mixed of both Religions, the Reformed are so sensible of the danger in living promiscuously with the Papists, that though they are much the stronger party, they live in one part of the Country as the Romanists do the like in the other part, and this seems by a common consent to be necessary; for where the Clemency of the Bishops was not interested in the change of Religion, all Countries in their first Reformation swept their Lands of the Papists, and have ever since kept themselves clear of them, except some places in *Germany* where the Emperour Capitulated for them, and in the *Low Countries*, where being the first Revolters, they Capitulated for themselves,

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themselves, as meriting a liberty of Cohabitation without a publick Toleration. It is true, *Denmark* and *Sweden* have in their several Churches those they call Bishops, as six in the first, and about the same number in the latter; but they are no more than (according to the genuine signification of the word) meer Overseers without any Jurisdiction.

I am astonished to hear the prudence of our Ancestors sometimes complained of, by persons not (in other things) wanting understanding, for making it Death for Priests, Natives of *England*, to come into it, as if there were hardship in that Law, when experience hath sufficiently shewed us, that Liberty to them, is Cruelty to the Protestants, Sir *John Temple* laying the reason of the Massacre in *Ireland*, upon the not putting the Laws in Execution against the Popish Clergy, and since that was the Cause of the Murder of some hundred thousands of Protestants, by several tortures and barbarous Cruelties in that Country, I fear they that neglected the Execution of the Laws, are not able to answer for the blood of so many Innocent Christians.

I am not for Persecution upon the account of Conscience, but do think it an honest, civil, political Constitution, without the least mixture of Religion, to make it Death for Priests and Jesuits to come into a Protestant Country, since the immorality of their Principles is destructive to the Peace and Tranquillity of such Nations, and inconsistent with the well-being of them; and it's to be admired, that the contrary opinion should in any kind obtain in *England*, when that Kingdom hath been under the perpetual exercise of their
wicked

wicked and devilish Plots and Designs, ever since the first Reformation until this day.

And if it be lawful in *England* to Execute a Protestant that shall return after banishment upon penalty of Death, when his Crime for which he was banished was not Death by the Law, and returns not with any intent of mischief to the Nation (as none will deny but it is) it's surely much more lawful to do the same by Priests and Jesuits, whose designs in their return are always most dangerous and mischievous; and to interest Religion in their coming into the Country, because as they pretend, for the edification of those of their Church, as an excuse for them in it, is no more than they may do for murdering Protestants, their Religion not only warranting them therein, but also teaching them to do it as Meritorious.

THE INTEREST OF FRANCE.

THis Country is reckoned to contain thirty two Provinces, wherein many lesser Counties are comprised, being of a round form, about five hundred miles in diameter: And as it is thus considerable in Circuit, so it is much more in populousness, exceeding in that all other Countries in Christendom, and hath in it several Principalities, belonging to Subjects with Sovereign power appertaining to them, but are all now (though not until of late) reduced to that condition, as renders them at the devotion of the King.

France hath seldom fewer than forty or fifty Dukes, of whom the Princes of the Legitimate blood are the first in precedence, those of the illegitimate the Second, those descended from Foreign Sovereign Princes (as those of the House of *Lorrain*, *Savoy*, and *Mantoua*) the third, and the Dukes of *French* Families, not of the blood, and of Foreign Families, not derived from Sovereign Princes, are the last in rank amongst them, and take place according to their Creations.

Next to the Dukes are the Marshals of *France*,
and

and of this Order (which is a Military honour for life only) there used antiently to be no more than two, but they have by degrees been so increased, that of late there have been seldom fewer than thirteen or fourteen, and sometimes more; they abound in other titles, but under the degrees of Dukes, and Peers of *France*, Mareschals, with other Military and Civil Officers. There is no certainty as to mens qualities (except in some few antient known Families of Counts and Marquesses) it being ordinary with their Gallants, some to assume the Titles of Marquesses, Counts, and Barons, which are not due to them, and others to purchase them, which being obtained at low rates, without suitable immunities, make them numerous and therefore little regarded.

The antient Government of *France* was by the three Estates of the Country, upon whom (as representing the body of the Kingdom) was (as *D'Avila* reports) devolved (during their sitting) the whole authority of the Nation, the Kings power (whilst they were in being) seeming to be suspended; but at last an Arbitrary Power being indiscreetly, and rashly given to *Charles* the Seventh (under pretence of necessity) to raise money in the interval of General Assemblies, their Kings having ever since kept that Prerogative (though granted at first, but during a certain emergent occasion) have imposed what taxes they pleased upon the people, without asking the consent of the Estates, save that *Britaign*, *Languedoc*, *Dauphinée*, and *Burgundy*, do each of them retain still the seeming priviledge of three Estates, or Orders, which (though very antient) they are forced to preserve at dear rates by great presents

(almost equivalent to the taxes of other Provinces) made to their Sovereign.

After the *French* Kings had assumed the raising of money by their own single Authority, yet they continued a long time the calling (upon occasion) the Estates together, until having wearied them with fruitless meetings (in that the Purse being lost, they were become meerly journeymen to the Court) and prepared them thereby for dissolution, they were totally laid aside, there having been to this time, no Assembly of Estates, since the Year one thousand six hundred twenty seven (about two years after *Richlieu's* entring upon his Ministry) and now never likely to be any more, the Crown having gradually ingrossed all power to it self, to the misery of that Nation. And this example may well be a caution to all people, who have any priviledges left, to be jealous of them, and careful how they part with them, priviledges not being so easily recovered from Princes, as resigned to them, most of them being like other men, ready to take all they can get, but unwilling to part with any thing they can keep.

This Nation is so large, populous, and fruitful, furnished with convenient Manufactures, and staple Commodities, that were it under a free and good Government, nothing might be thought too hard for its undertaking. But although the *French* being sensible of the benefit of Trade, endeavour the augmenting of it, yet as the Popish Religion in its nature, is (in a great measure) inconsistent with it, in their not only indulging idleness in all sorts of people, but also in inviting them to it, by their manydays they call holy, and

and particularly in their encouraging their numerous Pilgrims (who ever after prove ordinarily common Wanderers and Vagabonds, if not Thieves and Highway-men) as well as the multitude of their Secular and Regular Priests and Fryers, especially those that profess begging; so also as all absolute rule founded in Arbitrary will and pleasure, cannot be upheld but by Instruments that must be allowed in corrupt and dishonest practices, wronging the King or Prince, as they judge he doth the people, sharing with him in oppressing and injuring of them: Traffick cannot be improved above the nature of the Government, which reacheth little further than to a particular Monopolizing of Commerce (and not to an Universal indulging of Trade and Industry) in granting immunities to Favourites, and countenancing them before others.

So that as *France* cannot well from its natural advantages, be without a good share in Trade, so the obstructions necessarily attending the Government, both in Church and State, are such, together with the vast unalienated revenue of the Ecclesiasticks, that it can never be improved to what otherwise it is capable of; and to speak politically, it is the better for their Neighbours that it is so with them, lest else they might peradventure prove too great for them. For although they they have not in any degree such bold Rivers and Havens for men of War, and Ships of burthen as *England*, yet it is wonderfully accommodated with Rivers of great length and use for conveyance of Merchandize, Travellers and Passengers by flat-bottomed Boats.

And of these Rivers there are four in Chief,

exceeding the rest, which empty themselves advantageously into the Sea, in the four several quarters of the Land, beside many lesser Rivers, some of which fall into the greater, and the rest immediately into the Sea.

The four Capital Rivers, are the *Seine*, *Loyr*, *Garonne*, and *Rhose*. The first riseth in *Burgundie*, and running through *Champaigne*, and several Cities in that and other Countries, takes *Paris* and *Rouen* in its way, and falls at *Havre de Grace* into the British Sea, being in its whole course of great benefit to Merchants and Travellers.

The *Loyr* riseth in that part of the Country called the *Cevennes*, running by *Nevers*, *Orleans*, *Bhis*, *Tours*, *Saumur*, and several other Cities and Towns, and in its course, having received some other smaller Rivers, passing by *Nantes* falls into the Bay of *Biscay*, some few Miles below it. This River is accounted the Chief of all *France*, for its long stream and usefulness, being Navigable with flat-bottomed Boats, near (as I believe) if not full three hundred English Miles, and yet (which is unusual) is not so for greater Vessels above twenty Miles.

The *Garonne* riseth in the *Pyrenean Mountains*, upon the Territories of *Spain*, and saluting in its way many Cities and Towns, falls into the Bay of *Biscay*, forty or fifty Miles below *Bordeaux*; this is the best and most Navigable River of all *France* for Ships of burthen, the Tide flowing many Miles into the Land.

The *Rhose* riseth in *Switzerland*, passeth through the Lake of *Geneve*, and that City, and not half a days Journey beyond it, losing it self under ground, after some few English Miles riseth again,

again, and comes a great River to *Lyons*, falling into the Mediterranean about eighty English Miles below it, after having in its course passed by several other Cities, as *Vienne*, *Avignon*, and *Arles*, &c. The rapidness of this River, which is very great, makes it the less useful, but at *Lyons*, the River *Saone* falls into it, which in its way thither, is of great benefit to that City, and other places.

France though thus rich in Rivers, beside many Creeks, yet wants good Havens and Ports. Their Coast in the narrow Seas is dangerous from the lowness of the Land, many Rocks lying in the Sea, and want of good and well situated Harbours, their best being *Fluvedegrace* and *St. Malo*, although neither of them to be boasted of, the first having a dangerous entrance, and when within, as ill riding, the River being bad even up to *Rouen*; and the latter, though it hath a good Haven within, yet the entrance is very perilous; from many Rocks that lie scattered far into the Sea. *Diep* is the next, but at high Water, not for Vessels of above 150 Tuns, which lie dry at low Water, all the rest, as *Calis*, *Caen*, and many others, deserve no better name than Creeks; although the ostentatious way of French Writers, mention them sometimes as good Ports. *Brest* in *Britaigne* lying upon the Ocean is a good Haven, but being in that part of the Country which hath not much Trade, the greatest use of it is, for the Kings men of War, kept for the Seas on this side the Mediterranean, it affording Water enough for Vessels of the greatest burthen. There are in the Bay of *Biscay* (which is that great Bay found in the Map, made by *France* and *Spain*) along that Coast

Coast many Ports, as *Nantes*, *Rochel*, *Bordeaux*, *Bleuet*, *Croiswicke*, *Maran*, *Charent*, *St. John de Luce*, &c. of which the four first are the best, the rest being of no great consideration, more than what that at *Charent* is, by the Haven and Dock which the King hath lately made there, for the riding and building of Ships, it lying too deep in the Bay, and too remote from the main Ocean, to be of much other use.

Beside these Ports, there are several Roads, as at *St. Martins*, in the Isle of *Ree*, as also betwixt the Isle of *Oleron*, and the Main, from *Trimlado* to *Charent*, where some of the Kings men of War did (if they do not still) use to ride.

Of Ports within the *Mediterranean*, there are no more belonging to *France* that deserve any name, than *Marseilles*, and *Toulon*, the latter only good as to Ships of War, being without Trade; but the first is a great trading City, and the Harbour, where the Kings Gallies for those Seas are for the most part kept, as the other is principally for his Ships of War.

The Coasts of *France* lying thus upon the Ocean, British, and Mediterranean Seas, they all afford their several staple Commodities, and the Inland variety of wrought silks, and toys, made in *France*, and carried out by Land as well as Sea.

From the Coast upon the narrow Seas, come several sorts of linnen to a great value, as from *Rouen*, *St. Maloes*, and *Morleys*, besides Wine from *Rouen*, with Paper and other lesser Commodities from both that City, and *Caen*. From the Coast in the Bay of *Biscay*, come vast quantities of Wines, as from *Nantes*, *Rochel*, Isle of *Ree*, and *Bordeaux*, with great store of Salt, and sometimes

sometimes Corn and other Merchandize. From *Marseilles* in the *Mediterranean*, is sent of staple Commodities none but Oil, and a fine sort of Soap, with some other Merchandize of less concernment.

And now *France* being thus considered, with its staple Commodities, Ports, Havens, and Roads, sufficient for Merchants use (though short of those in *England*) Inland Manufactures of silk, Woollen, and other sorts, with conveniency of Rivers useful for conveyance of goods and persons, and a free passage by Land to all their bordering Neighbours, as to *Spain*, the Seventeen Netherlands, *Germany*, *Switzerland*, *Savoy*, and *Italy*, it may be reckoned to have great advantages for Commerce, and to have Trade its Natural Interest.

This Kingdom thus circumstanced, and interposing by situation betwixt *Spain* and that Kings other Territories and Allies, was naturally fitted to obstruct and prevent (as for many years it did) the House of *Austria* in their design for the Universal Monarchy. For although *France*, joining with *Holland*, could not alone without *England* have hindered it, neither could *England* and *Holland*, without *France*, have well done it; a Conjunction of Powers being then necessary for keeping the ballance against *Spain*, as it now is against *France*.

Whilst *France* was under difficulties, it was the Interest of *England* (as they did) to keep them up, lest otherwise they should have fallen under the power of *Austria*, but when they came to be equal with *Spain* as by degrees they did, and be able of themselves to make good their ground in the *Netherlands*, *Catalonia*, and *Italy*, for several Years

Years together, without any material difference on either side, *England* did not only then sit still, but also the States of *Holland* (who until the Year 1648. were in a League offensive and defensive, with *France* against *Spain*) being then at liberty, and judging it their Interest (as it really was) to make Peace with *Spain*, and be passive, they very wisely resolved upon it and effected it, and with design to keep those two great Potentates in an *aquilibrium*, as the Long Parliament of *England* had prudently given them the Example, which *Cromwel* had he aimed at the publick, as much as his own private Interest, would surely have followed, but not doing that he cast the Ballance of Dominion on the side of the *French*, to the irreparable loss of Christendom.

This Country hath not at once but gradually arrived at its present greatness, having made and gained several additions, at several times, as (to look no further back) *Henry* the Second got by the Sword the several Bishopricks of *Metz*, *Verdun*, and *Toule*, which are part of *Lorraine*, and members of the Empire.

Henry the Fourth added that part of *Navar*, lying on this side the *Pyrenean* Mountains (as being his Inheritance) and *la Bress* lying near *Geneve* on this side the *Alpes*, receiving it from the Duke of *Savoy*, in exchange for the Marquisat of *Saluce*, lying in *Italy* beyond the *Alpes*.

Lewis the Thirteenth got from the Duke of *Buloin*, the strong City of *Sedan*; with its Principality, and therein a passage into the Dutchy of *Luxenburg*, and so forward into *Germany*.

This present King *Lewis* the Fourteenth, had given him by the Treaty at *Munster*, the City of *Brisac*,

Brisac, with part of *Alsatia*, belonging to it, and *Philipsburg* in the *Lower Palatine*, two reputed invincible Holds, both much at an equal distance of a day and a halfs journey, from the great Imperial free City of *Straßburg* in *Germany*, to the great grief of that Town, the first lying above, as the latter below it, and all three upon the River *Rhine*.

Philipsburg taken from the French in the late War.

By this Peace with *Spain*, at *St. John de Luc*, when he married his present Queen (a Daughter of that Crown) he got his Conquests in the *Spanish Netherlands* confirmed to him, being all the Province of *Artoise* (save *St. Omer* and *Aires*) several parts of the se-

St. Omer and *Aires* lately taken by the French.

veral Provinces of *Flanders*, *Henegou*, and *Namures*, with the County of *Rossillion*, joyning upon (if not part of) *Catalonia*, and in that the strong Frontier Garrison of *Perpignan*. And in *Italy*, *Pignorolo*, with the Vallies thereunto belonging, since this, and in the year 1661. the French juggled the Duke of *Lorraine* out of his Country, and now pretend after the Dukes decease, a right of Inheritance in it to them and their Heirs for ever, having at present a free passage through that Country, the fastnesses being by them demolished, and the Duke stripped of all means of opposing them.

By the last Peace with *Spain* 1668. they had granted to them the Cities of *Lisle*, *Oudenard*, *Cortray*, &c. in the *Spanish Netherlands*, which they had the year before surreptitiously fallen upon, and seized; and thus the French have augmented their Dominions, and in doing of it, rendered them-

themselves much the more considerable, in having now most of their Frontier Garrisons upon acquired Lands, giving them free passage into their Neighbours Territories, leaving their own Country at the more liberty to follow their Commerce and Manufactures (Souldiers and Armies being Enemies to both) which they wisely incourage, as that which must lay the foundation of their strength in riches, and an increase of Shipping, the Cities and great trading Towns not being so burthened and taxed, as the Peasants in the Country, and other smaller Towns are.

Whilst the *French* were in fear of *Spain*, they sought Alliance against him, with the Protestant Princes and States, indulging their Reformed Subjects, by confirmation of old Edicts in their behalfs, with acknowledgment of their fidelity and good service, neglecting and slighting whatever the Pope and his party might think of them for it; but since they have been freed from all danger thence, looking upon their Interest as changed, they have changed their Maxims, from those that were for preservation only, to such as are for increase also, seeming now to observe the same rules in reference to *Rome*, which *Spain* followed in the time of their aspiring, as in pretending so much zeal for the Romish Religion, as may render their King Protector of that party, (and as cruelty against Dissenters, in matters of belief, is by all false Religions more approved of than devotion, so) by evidencing their sincerity, in a persecution of their Reformed Subjects, pretending to favour the Popes greatness, though to the end only that he may do the like for them, endeavouring to delude others into a contributing to their

their designs, either by gaining them as Pensioners to stand Neuters in their Expeditions and Invasions, or by procuring them to joyn, in hopes of sharing with them in the ruine of those that shall stand most in their way, that so they may gradually devour all, and at no greater expence than by the rewarding of their adherents for their assistance, with the priviledge only of being last destroyed: and in order hereunto, they have laboured to draw *England* from *Holland* and the triple League unto themselves; that so they might the easilier subdue the *United Netherlands*, and make themselves Masters of their strength, which they have cause to fear, will otherwise be an invincible Bulwark in their progress.

And for alluring *England* to joyn with them therein, it is probable, that they tempted them with large shares in their Conquests; but it hath been (as it is to be hoped it ever will be) the wisdom of his Majesty, and the Ministers of that wise State and Nation, to reject all temptations, as knowing that they being an Island, the increase of the *French* upon the Continent, must so much exceed any advantage that can accrue to them by it, that when they have done their work, the English (as well as other Princes and States) must be at their devotion, not only for all they shall hold bordering upon them, but also for what else they shall any where possess.

And now the designs of the *French*, being manifestly for greatness, without scrupling any thing whatsoever, that may obstruct them in it, their Foreign Interest, according to their corrupt principles, must consequently be,

First, In personating a great concern for Popery,

pery, that they may be no more thought (as formerly) Heretical Papists, but on the contrary the most zealous of that Church.

Secondly, In prevailing, if possible, for one of their Faction to be chosen Pope, as also (upon vacancies) into all other Elective Governments.

Thirdly, In ingaging as many of the Northern Princes, by pensions or otherwise, as they can.

Fourthly, In making *England* their Ally, and the rest of their Neighbours Neuters, or sow seeds of Sedition among them, for preventing their observation of them, until they have devoured the seventeen Provinces, that so they may not any more need to court, but threaten the World. And all these artifices may be observed, some of them to be publickly owned, and the rest endeavoured by their Ambassadors corrupting Ministers of State, in all Courts where it is feasible, as there are not many uncorruptible: and thus much for their Foreign Interest,

As for their Domestick Interest, whilst they will carry on an Arbitrary Government, it must consequently follow to be the keeping always in Arms, ready as well to invade *Spain*, should that young King be swept away by death (upon the pretence of Succession) as for suppressing Insurrections; Absolute and Arbitrary Governments, where the hearts of the people must be wanting, not being otherwise to be maintained than by force.

Secondly, It is their Interest to increase Trade, so far as the nature and kind of their Government will admit, there being no other way to augment their Naval strength (which they must necessarily endeavour) than by Trade, to the advancing

vancing of which their Country affords naturally many helps.

Thirdly, It is their Interest to be careful in keeping Faith with all men, as that which is of greatest advantage to any Prince or State. It is more honour for the memory of *Francis* the First, to have it recorded of him, that he used to say, that if Faith were utterly banished out of the World, it should be found in his word, than that saying of Cardinal *Mazarine* to the prejudice of Princes, that they ought not to be Slaves to their words (as if they were less obliged to moral honesty than other men) is for his memory.

And fourthly, It is their Interest to encourage and indulge their Reformed Subjects, as well in reference to the promoting Trade (they being more industrious in it than the rest) as to their own security, and therefore (in their Case) not to follow the *Spaniards* former example, in persecuting of them.

All these Maxims the *French* may be said to have exactly followed, except that of keeping Faith, which to their prejudice they have miserably forfeited towards *Spain* (if the Baron of *Isala* write truth) as well as in the persecuting of their Protestant Subjects, in both which, they surely miss their Interest. In the first, For that nothing can be of greater loss to any people than that of reputation in keeping of Faith, according to that honest German, or High Dutch Proverb, *Faith lost and all is lost*: And in the latter, for that considering the great Discontents and secret animosities, that may well be presumed to be in their Kingdom, proceeding from the heavy burthens that they lie under, together with the dormant pretences

pretences which have not been long quieted, and which would probably have a Resurrection, should the Government fall to a Prince during his Minority, as also considering the turbulent humour of the *Grandeess* of the Kingdom, who have in all times been apt to fly out upon any Discontent; they ought in prudence to make sure of the Reformed party, who whilst they enjoy Liberty of Conscience, according to the Laws of the Land, can have no other Interest than theirs that give them their right, and who were the Protectors of the King in the time of his Nonage, and to whom according to his own Declaration of the 8 July, 1643. and again the 22 May, 1652. ratified and Confirmed in Parliament, he is so much obliged; for in these Declarations, he acknowledgeth to have received (meaning in the last Civil Wars to which his last Declaration refers) full and certain testimony and proof of their affection and fidelity, in consideration whereof he promiseth to maintain them in the full and entire enjoyment of all their priviledges granted to them by the *Edict of Nantes* (their *Magna Charta*) and all other *Edicts*, *Declarations*, *Decrees*, *Rules*, *Articles*, and *Breviates* in their favour, all which are lately translated into English.

And upon these grounds, it is the Interest of the *French*, to make sure of the reformed party, lest Death should seize their King, before his Son (who hath not yet attained the Age of ten Years) can be capable of the management of affairs; nay though the *French* may for serving their present designs, think it their advantage to oblige the Court of *Rome* by persecuting their Protestant Subjects, it is not their Interest (were it in their power)

power) to make them all of the Popish belief; for surely, the keeping their Reformed Subjects divided in Religion, from that of *Rome*, in ways as contrary as light to darkness, whereby the two parties are made spies one upon the other, must be their great security; for as the Reformed can have no other designs or Interest than that of their King; and that the Papists have a Foreign Interest, and may have (as they have often had) other designs, so the Protestants will be (as they have often been) checks upon the Papists; and as they are a very considerable party, so they will always be the same to the King against any of his opposers, or the discontents of his greatest Subjects.

Louis the Thirteenth acknowledged at the Siege of *Rochebelle*, that it is not in the power of man to force the Conscience, and confesseth, that convincing the understanding in matters of Religion, is the Privilege of God only; and this is so great a truth, that without offering violence to right reason, it is no more to be denied, than that it is not in humane power to add to the Statute of a man; for though Persecution may make Hypocrites, it can no more make a new Conscience than it can a new Face.

And though I will not undertake for an infallible observation without exception, yet that the spirit of Persecution in Church-men, proceeds from want either of Sobriety, Learning, Ministerial parts, or all of them, I believe will be found as seldom to fail as any other; for lacking some, or all of these qualities to value themselves upon, they endeavour to supply their defects with an excess of formality, in Habits, Gestures, humane

Ceremonies, and Persecution for Non-Conformity, as a recommendation of themselves unto the World: and this holds not only among Protestants, but also so far among the Papists, that the more vertuous, wise, and learned that any of them are, the less cruel and unmerciful they are, as were it needful, many instances hereof in the several perswasions might be given. And thus much, with the Addition of the Interest of *Geneve*, because bordering upon *France*, and speaking that Language, shall serve at this time for this Kingdom.

A BRIEF

A BRIEF
DISCOURSE
UPON THE
City and Interest
OF
GENEVE.

Geneve is an antient City, reckoned three hundred Years before *Rome*; it stands at the bottom of that Lake which bears its name, upon uneven and Hilly ground, having on one side *Savoy*, within a quarter of a Mile, (and the Mountains of that Country at three or four Miles distance, though from their height seem close by) on another side the Lake, which being there contracted, runs through the lower part of the City into the River *Rhofne*; on a third side *France*, within less than a Mile, and their own Territories (which are about four miles in length) on a fourth side.

It was always a free City, but whilst of the Romish Religion, had a Bishop, with a Dean and Canons in it, whom (after Reformation) they turned out, converting their Houses to other publick uses, making it unlawful for a Stranger Pa-
pist

pist to lodge in the City above a certain short time, and as I remember, two or three Nights at most; the Town is small, not being when I was there above two English Miles in compass; but by the bounty of *Holland*, and some Protestant Princes, they have since enlarged it (which they were then in doing) by taking in (for their better defence) some ground, which whilst it lay without their Walls, was disadvantageous to them.

They are without any significant natural helps for Trade, having neither an useful River, or Sea near them; for though the Lake into which the River of *Rhosne* (that riseth in *Switzerland*) falls, runs through the City, where it ends and makes again the same River being there contracted within Banks, yet about nine or ten Miles beyond this place (though one of the rapidest Rivers in Christendom) it's so much lost under ground that one may pass dry shod over it, and is thereby rendered altogether useless to the Town; but some Miles further, it riseth again, and comes a great River to *Lyons* in *France*: so that the chief advantage this place hath, is from their good Order and Administration, inviting Travellers, as *Germans*, *Netherlanders*, *Danes*, *Swedes*, and *Poles*, that are of the Protestant Belief, to visit them, and begin their Travels with them, they having Churches and Sermons in the several Languages of *Italian*, *High Dutch*, and *French* (the last being their own Tongue) all exercises as well learnt as in other places, and cheaper, Dancing and Cards being allowed or connived at in Strangers, though not permitted to their own Citizens; and though the vulgar speak a bad *French*, or *Savoyard*, the better
 sort

fortifick as well as in most parts; for as Learning is the ordinary improver and refiner of Languages, so this City hath the advantage of that in having a *Schola Illustris*, which is an University, without the privilege of conferring Degrees.

Their Trade is by the Manufactures of the Town, as in Silks, Gold, Silver, and thread Lace, Pistols, Shamoy Leather, Watches, and Printing of Books, &c. all which would not signifie much as to their support, were not Traffick improved by Liberty and Freedom, their Government being frugally managed and carried on; First, by a great Council of two hundred, in whom is placed the Legislative Power; and Secondly, by a Senate of five and twenty, chosen out, and part of the two hundred.

Of these five and twenty, there are sixteen of the Order of Burgo-Masters, who come to that Office in turns, by four every Year; these four Burgo-Masters, or Syndics, have each their distinct Office; as the first is for matters of State, the second over the Hospitals, the third over the Militia, and the fourth over the Reformation; to see to the observation of their Orders and Decrees, both in Church and State.

When any of the five and twenty die, their places are filled by the Election of the two hundred, as when any of the great Council, that is not of the Senate, die, by the Election of the five and twenty, every individual member of the two hundred, wherein the five and twenty are comprised, do once a Year come one by one to Tryal by the Balloting Box, in the great Council, whether they deserve to be continued or not, and ac-

cordingly they are continued or rejected; but except they are by this way for ſome miſcarriage caſt out, they are all in for their Lives.

The Chief Magiſtrates are at *Chriſtmas* choſen by the people in general, every one that is a Free-man of the Town, having a Voice in their Election, which is ſolemnly made in the great Church.

The Court of Juſtice for Civil Cauſes, is conſtituted of one called the Lieutenant, having fix called Auditors joined with him, who make (as they ſtile it) the firſt Court for Civil Cauſes, whoſe Judgment in all matters under five Crowns (about 23 s. ſter.) is final, but in Cauſes above that ſum, there lie three Appeals; Firſt to the Court called the Appellations; Secondly, to the Senate of five and twenty, and Laſtly, to the great Council of two hundred, whoſe ſentence is abſolute.

Criminal Cauſes are heard by the Lieutenant alone, who reports the whole matter to the five and twenty, whoſe Decree is Concluſive, but the Sentence is pronounced by the Lieutenant only, from a Seat made for that purpoſe in the open ſtreet. They have here a municipal Law, which I have not heard of elſewhere, That they will not harbour or protect Murtherers, but if ſuch flying to them are in their City, and complained of by Prince, State, or others concerned, they will either take the Judgment of the matter to themſelves, or deliver up the party or parties complained of, to thoſe that ſhall accuſe, and demand them to be Tryed where the Fact was committed.

The Militia is Ordered by a Committee of ſixty, choſen out of the Burgo-Maſters, Senators, and

and the 175. I call them 175. because the twenty five being deducted out of the two hundred, there remain so many Common-Councillors.

The Church in the City is governed by the Ministers of it in general (being fifteen in number) the Burgo-Master that is for the Reformation, and six chosen promiscuously out of the great Council, which Assembly of twenty two is called the Consistory, but all their resolutions are brought to the two hundred for Confirmation, and without their Sanction are of no force.

Their Territories being about four English Miles out-right (as is before-mentioned) is divided into thirteen Congregations, with as many Ministers, and these Ministers joining at certain times of the Year, with the Consistory of the City for the Government of the whole Church in both City and Country, the Assembly of the whole is called the Congregation or Synod, whose Acts must also be confirmed by the great Council before they are binding.

This Country affords plenty of Wine and Corn, all provisions being very cheap, and the Lake which is forty Miles in length, and of an uncertain breadth, from ten or twelve Miles, to in some places two or three, affords excellent Fish, as Carps, &c. but Trouts the best in Christendom, they being frequently sent many Miles, because of their rarity, as Presents to great persons.

Their allowances to their Ministers are very frugal, to each, in Provisions and Money to the value of about 50 or 60^l *ster.* and famous Calvin had never much more, as his Estate at his Death seems to own, in that he left behind him, not
above

above sixty pounds *per* his Library reckoned in; from which may be observed, that a few Books well chosen, may serve a Learned Minister, especially if he live in a City, where there is either a publick Library, or Books to be hired, as there is here; he gave Charge upon his Death-Bed, not to bury him otherwise than in the common Burial-place without the Town, where he hath only a plain Stone laid upon his Grave, which shews his Humility, as his private Salary doth his being void of Covetousness, and the equality in the Church Government (which he was the framer of) his not seeking after Dominion, or great things for himself, all three Cardinal Vertues in a Church-man.

This City is a Confederate of the Canton of *Bearne* (which lyeth over against them, on the contrary side of the Lake) who upon occasion is to furnish them with two or three thousand Foot, as they are reciprocally to do the like for them with one thousand, the Town it self not affording in all, of men able to bear Arms above five thousand, but most of them are expert in shooting, and handling of their Fire Arms, being encouraged thereto by a prize allowed by the State to be shot for every Week.

The Duke of *Savoy* pretends a Title to this Town, but they say without other ground than the conveniency and nearness of it to him, and were it not that the French King as well as the Cantons of *Switzerland*, are not willing he should be Master of so great an advantage, he would certainly attempt it, as his Ancestor *Charles Emmanuel* did in the Year 1602. when he acted Dissimulation, Hypocrisie, and breach of Faith, to the

the greatest height that any History mentioneth, Give that of *Charles the Ninth of France*, in his con-
 ducting the *Bartholomew* Massacre, and for their de-
 liverance from his bloody Plot, which was (with-
 out respect to Age or Sex, except the reserving
 some Virgins for lustful ends) for putting all to
 the Sword, they still hold an Anniversary Day of
 Thanksgiving.

Their condition being thus, their Interest is
 soon summed up, in being jealous of *Savoy*, court-
 ing and seeking the favour of the *French King*, and
 the Cantons of *Switzerland*, making it the Interest
 of them both, to defend them against the third.
 And as they are now, or at least were when I was
 with them, well governed, the Town being then
 very civil, peaceable, and modest in their beha-
 viour, and exemplary in their habits, being in
 this so regulated, that the greatest Women of the
 City were not suffered to wear their Cloaths lon-
 ger than touching the ground, nor to use Gold,
 Silver, or thread Lace, except very narrow, and
 of small value, so it is their Interest to continue
 the same good order, as invitations to strangers
 to send their Sons thither, to begin their Travels,
 and spend their money with them, as also to Mer-
 chants to make the road through their City, their
 way into *Italy, France, or Germany*.

I know this Republick hath many Enemies, men
 being influenced thereunto by such as are haters
 of their Doctrine, Church Discipline, or man-
 ner of worship, and upon these several accounts
 I expect opposition to what I write; but I would
 not be understood, by my Commendations of this
 City, to intend the defending of it as altogether
 faultless; or further than that (when I was there)
 compared

compared to other places in *France* (of which I have had experience) that are the ordinary residence of several Nations (the great corrupter of Morals) it exceeded them all very much in Sobriety and Vertue, deserving all the Commendations I give it; and since my observation hereof, I have found (as a concurrent testimony with me in what I say of them) the Chastity of the Women, gravity of the Men, and modesty of both Sexes in their attire, &c. asserted by that Book called the Estates, Empires, and Principalities of the World, writ in *French*, and translated into English by M^r *Grimston* Serjeant at Armes.

In M^r *Calvin*'s time there was one named *Bolsec* (who had been a Monk of the Carmelites Order at *Paris*) that came to *Geneve* (and probably sent with design to interrupt their Reformation) pretending to be a Convert to the Reformed Religion, sometimes practising as a Physician, but at last as a Divine, endeavouring then to trouble the Church by pernicious errors, as he also did by his wicked, scandalous life and conversation.

Calvin according to his wonted zeal opposed him, labouring to convince him of his errors in a full Assembly; but persisting in them, he was by the advice of all the Consistory Excommunicated, which enraged him against *Calvin* to that degree, as was a great disturbance to the Peace of the City, provoking the Magistrates thereof for that reason to banish him *Geneve* with sound of the Trumpet, upon penalty if he returned of being whipped out of the Town: hereupon he went to the Canton of *Basle* in *Switzerland*, to complain of Injustice done him, but his factious and seditious spirit being also there in a little time discovered,

vered, they did the same by him in banishing of him, as *Geneve* had done.

After this, *Bolsce* pretending to be sensible of his errors, presented himself to the National Synod held at *Orleance* in the Year 1562. and there desired pardon of God and of his Church, for all his evil practices, promising solemnly for the future to renounce them all. Yet afterwards returned to his vomit again, insomuch that *Beza* in his answer to *Genebrard*, Printed at *Geneve*, 1585. saith, that he was an infamous person, who had been thrice banished, and had four times revolted, and that after he had spit his venom upon both living and dead; died in despair.

This was that *Bolsce* (who to be revenged of this City, as well as of *Calvin* and the whole Reformed Church, as also thereby to render himself the more acceptable to the Romish party, from whom he had revolted) that writ that infamous Libel, composed of nothing but Satanical lies and inventions, Printed in the Year 1577. which passeth among the Adversaries of the Reformed Religion, for a true History of the Life and Death of *Mr Calvin*.

The Crimes this Libel chargeth him with, are some committed (as he feignedly saith) at *Shallon* in *Champaign*, the rest at *Geneve*; besides accusing him of being one of the wickedest of men in Life and Conversation, as that he was a Drunkard, a Whore-Master, a Glutton, and an Epicure, &c. That he pretended to raise men from the dead, of which deceit he was detected. That he died in despair, Swearing, Blaspheming; calling upon the Devils, denying the Faith, detesting his work of Reformation in the Church, ~~Condemning~~ the

the Day that ever he put Pen to Paper. That he was eaten up with Worms and Lice, dying of that Disease which is called the louty Disease, &c.

I enumerate these things, to the end, first to show the calumniating practices in former times as well as now of Papists against Protestants; and secondly, as believing that but even naming of them, with the condition of the Libeller, is sufficient to disprove the Libel, though for the reputation of Mr *Calvin* it may be further said in his behalf.

First, That this Libel was writ thirteen Years after he was dead, and that during his life there was not one of these Crimes laid to his Charge, but after so many Years silence were devised and writ by a professed, malicious, and implacable Enemy.

Secondly, That that eminent servant of God *Breus*, who was his Contemporary at *Geneva*, and who was with him at his Death, hath writ his Life, and given him a due Encomium, which ought according to the Papists own Maxims to be believed by them rather than the testimony of such a profligate Fellow as *Bolsac*, who had several times revolted from their Religion, than which, no man with them can be guilty of a greater crime and less deserve credit; for with Papists, the testimony even of a born Protestant, whom they call a Heretick, is not to be taken, and much less the evidence of a Revolver.

Thirdly, That at *Geneva* all men deny these accusations, having his memory in great honour and esteem, whereas such Vices could never have been stifled by Protestants at *Geneva*, any more, than the Church of *Rome* could stifle in their City, the

the Whoredoms, Witchcrafts, and Sorceries, &c. of some of their Popes, which themselves do there own and confess.

Fourthly, That *Bellac* being a known flagitious Fellow, what he said or writ gained no reputation in the World, until Cardinal *Richelieu* about sixty or seventy Years after *Calvin* was in his Grave, gave some life to it, by writing a Book (which he calls a Treatise containing the most easie and sure way for converting those that have separated from the Church of *Rome*) wherein he makes use of *Bellac's* Libel, and most of the things contained in it.

Fifthly, That upon the publishing this Book of *Richelieu's*, the States of *Holland* thinking their Church concerned in it, gave Order to their Ambassadors to take *Shaalou* in their way to *Paris*, to inform themselves of the truth of what is by the Libel laid to the Charge of *Calvin*, as committed there, and found all to be false.

Sixthly, Being my self curious to know the truth of these things, I was in my Travels credibly informed, that even one of the Canons of the Cathedral of *Shaalou*, writing the Annals of that Church, takes notice of the aspersions laid upon *Calvin*, and out of pure generosity (more than is common with those of his profession) clears him of them, owning the report to be a groundless fiction, which being the testimony of an Enemy, may well be allowed as a good evidence.

That the Church of *Rome* never did, nor ever will want wicked Instruments to lie and swear for them, as they shall judge will make most for their corrupt Interest, I never doubted; but that great

great a person as Cardinal *Richelieu*, who one would think should have valued himself, as well upon the honour and reputation of his actions, as upon the considerableness of the figure he made in the World, should give countenance to such odious and hateful slanders, I cannot sufficiently wonder at, as I have sometimes also admired to hear this famous person *M^r Calvin*, who was so great a light in the Church of God, and who hath left such ample testimonies and Monuments of singular Piety, Learning, and Spiritual Knowledge, should have his memory so unthankfully undervalued by Ecclesiasticks, and even by some pretending to Reformation, as we find it is, when they ought rather to have his transcendant excellencies in the highest estimation; but since I understood how his humility reproves the grandeur, riches, and dominion striven for by Church-men, in a self-denying contentedness under a small Salary, and less power, when it was in his choice to have had what he would desire, I have ceased to wonder at it, no men loving to be touched in their *Diana*, nor to have their failings tacitly reproved by other mens Vertues and Moderation.

Before the Reformation the antient Motto of this City was; *Post tenebras spero*, and since the Reformation they have changed it into *Post tenebras lux*. And thus I have done with *Geneve*, which I believe is the least Republick, Independent, and without a Protector, not holding of any Prince or other State, that is found any where, save *S^t Marino*, mentioned in the Interest of *Italy*: For though the Republick of *Ragusa* upon the Coast of *Dalmatia*, was much less in Circuit (not being above an English Mile round) than *Geneve*, yet they had the
Grand

Grand Seignior for their Protector, under whom paying a small Tribute, they enjoyed full and perfect liberty in both Church and State (their Religion being that of *Rome*) living peaceably, and contentedly, until the late dreadful and dismal Earthquake, destroyed (in a great measure) both City and People; whereas this City hath no Protector to whom they pay any Tribute, though that incomparable Prince, for Gallantry, Justice, great parts, and good nature, &c. *Henry the Fourth of France* (Grandfather to *Charles the Second of Great Brittain*) was always a truly noble, generous, and real Friend to them, not suffering them to be injured by any; and at his making a general Peace, though so inconsiderable to him, concerned himself for them in comprehending them in it as his Friends and Allies.

THE

THE INTEREST OF ITALY.

I*T*aly is ordinarily resembled to a Leg, joined by the thigh to *France, Savoy, Switzerland, and Germany*, and to all these places by the *Alpes*, the rest of it being (upon the matter) encompassed by the *Mediterranean and Adriatick Seas*. It is long and small, in length about eight hundred English Miles, but in breadth so uncertain, as from three hundred to (in some parts of *Naples*) twenty Miles.

The *Apennine Hills* making (as it were) a ridge through this long Country, causeth great diversity in the goodness of the soil, some of it being much more fruitful as well as healthful, than other parts.

The Rivers are not considerable, none of them being Navigable for Ships of burthen: The *Tyber* (upon which *Rome* stands) the *Adige, Arne*, and the *Po*, being the best, and of all the last most useful, Merchants, Travellers, and Commodities being conveyed by it in small Boats from *Turine* in *Piedmont* (the residence of the Duke of *Savoy*) to
Venice,

Venice, which I judge to be in length above two hundred English Miles, having in the way several Towns standing upon it. The River *Rubicon* writ of in the Roman stories, is now in Summer, whatever it was antiently, a dry Sand, having only in Winter (from Land Floods) water in it; and likewise *Ostia* at the mouth of the *Tyber* (which was formerly the Haven to the Roman Republick, twelve or thirteen Miles from the City) both it and the River is so filled up, that it serves only now for Fisher Boats of ten or fifteen Tuns, *Civite Vecchia*, at forty Italian Miles distance, being now the Port to *Rome* for their Gallies and Merchant Ships.

The *Alpes* which may be called a Wall to this Country, bear divers names, according to the several places they are in, some of them being very difficult and dangerous, others easie and safe for passing over. The best are betwixt *Augsbrough* in *Germany*, and *Venice*, that being a good road without Trouble or danger. The next for conveyancy is Mount *Cette*, betwixt *Chambray* in *Savoy*, and *Turine*, in *Piedmont*. The rest are more severe, and some of them very dangerous, as those betwixt *Genoa* and *Nice*, belonging to the Duke of *Savoy*, which are very rarely used by reason of their difficulty.

The Governments in *Italy* are of two kinds, Monarchies and Republicks, each of which being of four several Degrees, as to power and greatness, I shall make these following Observations of them. And to begin with the Monarchies; the Dominions of the King of *Spain*, and those of the Pope, are of the first rank, those of *Savoy* and *Tuskany* of the second, those of the Dukes of

Parma, Mantona, Modena, and the Bishop of *Trent* the third, and the petty Dukes and Princes the fourth.

As to the Republicks, *Venice* is much the greatest, *Genova* the next, *Lucca* the third, and *St. Marino* the fourth or last. The *Venetians* with their Territories, Prudence and Wisdom, do fully equal the power in *Italy*, of either the King of *Spain* or Pope. *Genova* though in Revenue much short of the second sort of Monarchs, yet by their wise management of affairs come very near them, and *Lucca* may be compared to the third, as *St. Marino* upon the like account unto the fourth.

The Popes Dominions in *Italy* lie much in the midst of it, being reckoned twelve Provinces, beside that he possesseth several Lands bordering upon the Duke of *Savays* Country of *Piemont* and *Montferrat*, as also upon the Marquisat of *Trevissain*, belonging to the *Venetians*, with the County of *Avinion* in *France*, and what he hath in the Kingdom of *Naples*.

The King of *Spain* holds in *Italy* the Dutchy of *Milain* (in *Lombardy*) containing eleven Divisions or Jurisdictions, beside *Final* upon the *Genova* Coast, and the Kingdom of *Naples* (which is divided into twelve Provinces) with the Isles of *Sicily*, *Majorca*, *Minorca*, and *Sardinia* in the *Mediterranean*, and *Portolongonne* in the Isle of *Elbe*.

The *Venetian* Territories are *Istria*, with so much of *Lombardy*, and that which they call *Terra firma*, as make fourteen Provinces, a good part of *Dalmatia* lying along the Coast of the *Adriatick* Sea, over against *Italy*, several Islands in the *Levant*, whereof *Corfu*, *Cephalonia*, and *Zante* are the

the Chief, with some Islands in the *Archipelagoes*.

The Duke of *Savoy* possesseth in *Italy* the Principality of *Piemont*, with several other little Principalities and Counties adjoining, as the Marquises of *Saluze* and *Asti*, the Dutchy of *Osta*, the Counties of *Nizza* and *Vercelli*, with part of *Montferrat*, beside the Dutchy of *Savoy*, with lyeth not in *Italy*, but on this side the *Alpes* bordering upon *France*, as *Piemont* and the rest of his Dominions are on the other side, which as they are generally taken are part of *Italy*, though *Italy* strictly taken according to antient account, is but a part of that which is commonly called so.

The great Duke of *Tuskany*, possesseth most of the Country of that name, and particularly that part of it wherein lyeth the City of *Florence*, *Pisa*, and *Sienna*, all formerly Republicks, with part of the Isle of *Elbe*, and the Seigniory of *Pontremolie*, &c.

The Republick of *Genova* hath under them the Coast of *Genova*, about a hundred and thirty Miles in length, and twenty Miles in breadth, the Sovereignty of the Isle of *Tarbarke*, which lyeth upon the Coast of *Tunis* in *Barbary* (though the soil and profits belong to Subjects) with the Isles of *Corfica* and *Capraia*, lying in the *Mediterranean*, but these Isles are of no great consideration.

The Duke of *Mantoua* possesseth the Dutchy of that name, part of *Montferrat*, and in that, the City of *Casal*, famous for its Fortifications.

The Duke of *Parma* hath in *Lumbardy* the Dutchy of that name, with the Dutchy of *Placence*,

cence, and in the Ecclesiastical Territories, the Dutchy of *Castro* and *Roussillon*, besides some places in the Kingdom of *Naples*.

The Duke of *Mojena* hath the Dutchy of *Mojena* and *Reggio*, with some other Seigniories, all affording no great Revenue.

The Republick of *Lucca*, being a City of twelve regular Bastions, lying in a level Country, hath only the Vail in which it lyeth (of no considerable greatness). belonging to it.

The Republick of *S^t Marino*, is an inaccessible Hill, otherwise than by a way cut up to it, lying in the Popes Territories near the Dutchy of *Urbine*, and is about three Miles over, upon which stands the City of *S^t Marino*, fortified on one side by a dreadful Precipice, and on the other by a Wall, with some great Guns mounted; it is governed by a Council of five and forty (*viz*) fifteen Gentlemen, as many Mechanicks, and the like number of Country men, who all together chuse every six Months two Consuls out of themselves. This Hill being all their Territories, hath four Villages upon it, and one Market Town at the bottom of it, the Inhabitants being in the whole, reckoned at six or seven thousand Souls, and of fighting men fifteen hundred. They pretend to have been a free State nine hundred or a thousand Years, but therein I fear they stretch; they are Lovers of Liberty, and for that reason (as is said) jealous of their Nobility, of which they have twenty Families. In all Wars they have enjoyed Peace, and upon occasion they send Ambassadors to their Neighbour Princes and States. I am the larger in this, because a thing little known, or taken notice of in the World.

The

The petty Princes, who are called so from the smallness of their Territories, and not of Sovereignty (being as absolute within their respective Jurisdictions as the rest) are in number about two or three and twenty (beside such as are only titular) of which some of them were raised by Popes, who usually in their Reigns, make each a Prince in their Families, others came from the City of *Genova*, as *Monico* and *Doria*, &c. and some descended from antient Sovereign Princes, but none of them so considerable as to deserve any further insisting upon, than that they adhere to *France*, or *Spain*, according as they are obliged by their respective Interests, from their Lands they hold in *France*, *Naples*, or *Milain*, of the one or the other Crown.

Beside these Princes and Republicks, the *French* King holds *Pignorolo* in *Italy*, (a strong Fortification) with some adjacent Vallies. The Emperour some Cities with their Territories, but inconsiderable. The *Switzers* four Bailiwicks, and the *Grisons* the *Valtoline*. And all these Estates in *Italy*, are held either of the Emperour or Pope, save that the *Venetians* are independant as well as the Bishop of *Rome*.

Italy taken generally, is with its Islands reckoned under four Divisions: First, That part properly called *Italy*, containing the Ecclesiastical Provinces, and *Tuskany*, in which lies the Republick of *Lucca*. Secondly, *Lumbarardy* containing *Piedmont*, *Montferrat*, the Dutchy of *Millain*, Coast of *Genoua*, and the Territories of the several Dukes of *Parma*, *Mantoua*, *Modena*, the Bishoprick of *Trent*, and the *Venetian* Domain. Thirdly, the Kingdom of *Naples*, being the

Eastern part of *Italy*. And fourthly, The Islands of *Sicily*, *Sardinia*, and *Corfica*, lying in the *Mediterranean* Sea. In these Divisions are reckoned near three hundred Archbishops and Bishops, besides a great number of titular Bishops, who depending all upon the Pope, add much to his Interest, being entirely at his Devotion.

The animosities and emulations among these Italian Princes and States, are great, none scarce being content with their own, but coveting more, the Church (according to their nature) waiting all opportunities for increase. The Duke of *Tuskey*, looking with an envious eye upon *Lucca*, because lying within his Country. The Duke of *Savoy*, thinking the Duke of *Mantoua* to have too great a share of *Montferrat*, and the Duke of *Mantoua*, that he hath too little of it, the whole belonging to him. And the *French* King, having got an entrance into *Italy*, and a strong hold in it, in possessing *Pignorelo*, and the Vallies belonging to it, thirsts after more, so that these, and other dormant quarrels, as that about *Castro*, &c. are such, that had not this Country common Enemies, as the *French* and *Turk*, who watch their quarrelling among themselves, they could not long continue in Peace.

And although their former danger from the House of *Austria* is now over, yet the *French* having got an advantageous footing in *Italy*, and the *Turk* approaching them by Sea, both these formidable Potentates waiting but an opportunity for falling upon them, it is their general Domestick Interest, especially the Pope, (and indispensibly necessary for them) to unite and agree for common preservation; and for making their
Union

Union the firmer, to reconcile all their differences, and settle every one in their just rights, privileges, and liberties, lest the *French* (not out of Vertue so much as a specious pretence for a quarrel) should otherwise take occasion (under colour of relieving the oppressed) to enter *Italy*, of which should he once become master (as in such Case he would without difficulty be, the Country wanting not only Souldiers, but also people to make Souldiers of, and those they have unapt for War) he would in a short time make the Pope to signify no more, than would be consistent with his designs.

For though the *French* King's Interest and Principles, may carry him on to pretend zeal for his Religion, and at present to give testimony of it by the persecution of his Protestant Subjects; yet when by such Artifices he hath cousened the Popish Princes and States, either into a neutrality, or the assisting of him in his great design for Dominion, whereby he will be enabled gradually to devour both Protestant and Papist, when his work is once done, he will then hold it his Interest to countenance liberty of Conscience, as all great Conquerours for keeping their new acquired Provinces in Peace must do, except the fear of enriching his Subjects by it (which Arbitrary Governors do generally dread) do (to his own destruction) hinder him, for he hath too great experience in affairs, not to observe, that where ever Popery doth solely prevail, the people are poor and miserable to what they would be under Reformation: for the effects of idleness, which that Religion doth not only incourage, but also teach and injoyne, cannot be other than Poverty.

And

And as thus in reference to the *French*, the *Italians* ought to agree among themselves, so they also ought to do it in reference to the *Turk*, who draws nearer to them than he was, and who can approach them by Sea, lest otherwise he also should take advantage from their Divisions.

And further, were it not the general Maxim of Church-men, to hazard the safety of the whole, rather than own an error, or themselves in any thing fallible, it were the Interest of *Rome*, for the peopling of this Country (which by Tyranny and persecution, is all save *Venice*, *Genoua*, the City of *Naples* and *Lucca*, depopulated) to give liberty of Conscience, without which it can never be so replenished as is necessary for their defence; some Cities not having a sixth part, and others not a tenth part of the people they had whilst they were Republicks, as *Rome*, *Florence*, *Pisa*, *Sienna*, &c. but this self-denial cannot be expected from them, who by a Sentence from Heaven are given up to believe lies and delusions, as also because (according to their Carnal reason) it would render their Church Government altogether useless, in interfering with their pretended Infallibility.

Before the House of *Austria* fell from their greatness, the danger of *Italy* was most from them, and therefore the wise *Venetians*, who seldom or never mistake their Interest, did not only allow the States of *Holland* (as their Writers affirm) 5000^l *ster.* a Month, during their War with the King of *Spain*, and House of *Austria*, but also kept a close League and good Intelligence with *France*, from whom they could only expect any considerable assistance, for bridling the soaring ambition

bition of that House: but the fear of *Austria* being at present over, the same jealousy they had of it then, they ought now to have of *France*.

Italy is not only by situation (being in a manner a Peninsule) but also in abounding in rich and staple Commodities, very convenient for Trade; and were the advantages, and the peoples ingenuities improved to what they are capable of; it might without all peradventure equal in Commerce any Country in *Europe*: but the depopulating of *Italy*, as also of *Spain* by severity in State and persecution in the Church, and the natural averfness to Industry and Traffick, that is thereby bred in the people of those Countries, with the vast Interest that the Ecclesiasticks have in them both, and especially in *Italy*, is the great benefit of the Northern Trading Nations, who bring and fetch from them, most of the Commodities that they either want, or have, and even what the growth of their own Country affords; so that the reason of the Poverty of *Italy*, may be rendred to be the Romish Religion, together with not making Trade their Interest, as indeed they cannot well do, no Country being capable of it, that is so much under the bondage of the Church, and subject to their Impositions as they are, liberty of Conscience, and relaxation from the severity of Ecclesiastical Laws, being the necessary Concomitants of Trade.

I call *Italy* poor, because so in the general, and a depopulated Country, denying that it is the riches of some few persons or places, but diffusive wealth and populousness, that render a Country great and opulent. For it is not long since the charge of a small Army for one Year against the
Pope,

Pope, about the succession of the Dutchy of *Urbain*, made the Duke of *Tuskany* (the richest Prince in *Italy*) weary of War, and as some say to lessen the number of his Gallies, by selling some of them; and yet when *Florence* alone was under liberty, an Army four times as great would not in a longer time have wearied them.

And it is observable, that those places in this Country, which are most considerable, by being addicted to Traffick, are such, as being loosest from the Church, are fullest of people, as *Venice*, *Genova*, and *Lucca*; for the bondage of *Rome* is enmity as well to temporal as spiritual prosperity. And thus when I have given you some Observations upon the several Cities of *Venice* and *Genova*, as Members of *Italy*, I have done with this Country.

SOME
OBSERVATIONS
UPON THE
Original and Government
OF THE
REPUBLICK
OF
VENICE.

THE City of *Venice* is an aggregated Body of Islands (which some reckon seventy in number, united by Bridges, which are Calculated to be near seven hundred) lying in and at the Head of the *Adriatick* Sea, or Gulf of *Venice*, and four or five English Miles from any part of the Continent.

This City derives its Original from the Year four hundred, when the *Goths* and *Lombards* over-running, wasting and destroying *Italy*, caused many of the Inhabitants near the Sea to fly for safety to these Islands, where applying themselves first to Fishing, and afterwards to Merchandize, they begun

are: and although Concubines are by the *Veneti-ans* permitted, their Religion (which is Popery) allowing it being the Cause, yet no Man observed to be a common haunter of Stews, a Drunkard, or exorbitantly given over to his Lusts and Pleasures, is ever employed by that wise people, who believe such men good for nothing.

Their Government is carried on by several Councils; As first, By that called the Great Council, consisting of all the *Patricii* or Noble Venetians, together with a Duke for life, whose he is more a piece of formality, or a Pageant of State, than of Power or Authority, so his presence in the Council is not necessary; it being often held without him.

Secondly, By that Council called the Signory, or the Council of ten.

Thirdly, By that Colledge or Council called the Senate, or little Council.

Fourthly, By that Colledge or Council called the Savi or Sages.

Fifthly, By that Council called the Colledge.

And now to take all these Councils in Order; the Great Council hath the Legislative Power, the Choice of the Duke, all the Magistrates of the whole Republick, and many of the great Officers, (but not of all, the Senate having the Election of some) and to this end the great Council meets on the Lords Day, and sometimes on their Holy Days.

The Signory consists of the Duke, six Counsellors chosen by the great Council, and the three Presidents or Chief Judges of their three Chief Judicatures, making in all ten, from whence it is vulgarly called the Council of Ten; this Signory grants

grants all Patents, sends and receives all Foreign Letters, peruseth Embassadors Credentials, giving them Audience, without returning any other answer than that the Duke will consult the Senate and Colledge upon the matter then delivered.

• They take care of the safety of the Commonwealth, and that it receive no damage, suppressing and punishing all Conspiracies against the Government, calling even the Duke himself to account, if upon any score they find Cause to do it, especially if they have any ground to suspect his designing Usurpation, and have almost a general super-intendancy in all State concerns; they have also a right of going into, and Voting in all the Colledges and Committees, and of assembling the great Council, they sit every day in the Morning, and once in eight days (or oftner if there be occasion) with the addition of near thirty of the great Officers of State, appointed to that purpose, for all matters of extraordinary concern.

The Senate consists of one hundred and twenty of the Nobility, bearing no other Office than Members of the Great Council (who are called the *Progadi*) about the like number of other Councillors, Magistrates, and Officers of the greatest Rank, who have by their places right of Session, with Votes, besides fifty six other Officers of Quality, together with all such persons as have trusted the Commonwealth to such a certain sum as is directed by the Law; as also all such Magistrates as have any new concepts to propound for the bringing them into Laws, have a right of Session, without Votes; so that this Council consists of two hundred forty seven with Votes,

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fifty

fifty six eminent Officers more, with an uncertain number of Creditors, and propounders of Laws without Votes, all which are called together by the Colledge, which gives notice of it by their Officers, and at the time of their meeting by the tole of a Bell, four of the six Councillors of the Council of Ten, and sixty of such as have Votes in this Council making the *Quorum*.

All Laws are last debated by this Council, and brought by them to the Great Council for their Sanction, who have no power of debate, or other than of receiving or rejecting the Laws propounded. The making Peace and War, and all matters of State (except some extraordinary Cases, which for expedition and secrecy, are in the Council of Ten) are, after they have been prepared and debated by the Signory and Colledge, brought by them to the Senate for approbation or rejection, who do therein as they think fit, in whom is also the Election of some great, and many small Officers.

The Council called the Savi or Sages, consists of sixteen persons. Six for both Sea and Land affairs, who are called the *Savi grandi*, or Great Sages, five for Land Affairs only, and five for Sea Affairs alone. The six take care of all Land and Sea Affairs in general, the other keep each to their particular Province, without ingaging in one anothers Charge; they meet every day in a Council Room near the Signory, each Order having their President, who propounds in the Council what they have to bring in debate; and when any thing is discussed concerning Land Affairs only, in such Case the five for Sea are silent, as are also the five for Land, in debating any thing concerning

concerning Sea only; but the six *Savi grandi* have a right of Debate and Voting, in all matters concerning either Land or Sea in particular, as the other two Orders have in matters of a mixt nature of both Sea and Land.

The Colledge (which although for method sake I rank last) is of greatest use in the State, being a Conjunction of the Signory, and the Savi, in all six and twenty; for as they both meet every Morning at a certain hour, where in their distinct Council Rooms, they spend separately an hour or more in Debate of their several business, so the Savi going to the Room where the Signory sits; and joyning with them, make that Council they call the Colledge.

And thus the gradations of debating and resolving in matters of State (except what is for secrecy and expedition committed to the Signory alone) is first by the Signory and sixteen Savi, each in their several Rooms distinctly. Secondly, by them two jointly which make the Colledge. And thirdly, by the Senate, who according as they resolve after Debate, rejects or brings all to the great Council, who hath only the last resolution without debate.

And thus much may serve to shew briefly and in general the method of the Venetian Councils, which is all that is by this aimed at; for of the several kinds of Magistrates, Offices, Officers, their Ballot, and their Elections by it, so much hath already been writ, that it is needless to trouble the Reader here with any thing more of them, than to observe, that as Offices are all either honorary or mercenary, so the Officers of the first kind (as Governours of Governments, &c.) are

so far from having profit added to their honour, that their places are chargeable; and although some Military Employments may be judged to deserve a benefit by reason of the hazard that attends them, yet so chargeable are their honourable Offices in the general, that it is accounted a reward answerable to the greatest merit, to confer *gratis* the dignity of a Procurator of St. *Mark*, upon the most deserving person, because beside the honour of it, they are also thereby freed from having any Offices imposed upon them, and of this Order there are twenty four, whereof nine are always made upon the account of merit, and fifteen upon purchase, which costs each Purchaser, though an honour but for life only, five or six thousand pound *ster.*

The Mercenary Offices which have all but frugal Salaries, are conferred upon persons standing in need of them, for that none but such will desire them. And as it is not honourable for persons of large substance, to seek Mercenary Offices, so it is accounted irrational, to make honorary places (except in Military service subject to danger) profitable, the Duke himself losing by his place, his income not being so much as his unavoidable extraordinary charges are. So that the rule of the *Venetians* is to chuse persons to their honorary employments of great Estates, able to maintain the honour and dignity of their places, with the benefit of some small perquisites, at their own Charge, and to make the Salaries of their Mercenary Offices very moderate. All honorary charges are in the Nobility, save that the Chancellor (who is next the Duke) and the Secretaries, are in the *Plebeians*, which is to encourage Vertue in them, and not to leave them altogether without hopes
of

of honourable preferment in the State. They are great Enemies to Bribery and Corruption, and severe punishers of it when discovered.

The Frame and Constitution of this Government, hath in its eye above all other things, general good and safety, one of the Excellencies of the *Venerians* being the largeness of their Souls for publick Interest, wherein they are observed by Writers to transcend all other people, having not left it in the power of the State, to pardon certain crimes against the Republick; as treachery in Governours of Garrisons, Conspiracies against the Common-wealth, holding private Correspondence with Foreign Princes, or States, or countenance in Accounts; and if any chosen to an Office, intrusted with Money, prove insolvent, they that nominated him thereunto, are responsible for him to the State. And answerable to these Rules, seems to have been the Complement of a *Venetian* Embassador, at his taking leave of old Sir *Henry Vane*, when Secretary of State, in telling him; *That England was happy in their King, Country, Nobility and Gentry, and would be perfectly happy, had they publick spirits; but of that he said, they had the least of any people that ever he had the honour to know; wherein I wish he did not make a true Judgement.*

The Duke is for Life, and chiefly as a piece of Ceremony, (without Power) representing the magnificence of the Republick, every one standing bare before him: Though kneeling to him, kissing of his hand, painting or cutting of his Arms or Name in any publick place is not allowed. He can do nothing but in the presence of four of his six Councillors of the Council of Ten, and

two of the three Chief Judges of the Chief Court of Justice. He cannot go beyond *Malamoca* (th Haven hard by the City where the Ships ride) nor can he marry any of his Children to Strangers, without leave of the great Council and Senate. All Letters to the State are directed to him, and Letters to other Princes and States are writ in his name, but no Letters are opened except in the presence of at least four of the six Councillors, and two of the Chief Judges, the Minutes of the Letters sent out being under-writ by four Councillors, before the Originals are sent away.

Neither his Children, or Grand-Children, can be chosen to any of the great Offices during his Life, or be Embassadors. His Brother cannot be General, either at Sea or Land, or an Embassador, &c. Nor any of his Friends by Consanguinity, be during his Life, of the Council of Ten in the Magistracy, or President of any of the Colledges; nor can any of his Family nominate one to any Office Temporal or Spiritual; and in all Taxes, the Duke bears a greater proportion, than before he was Duke he had done.

All men are prohibited upon severe penalties, the making him or any of his House any presents; but any Office not relating to the Policy or Justice of the State, his Relations are capable of. As to be of the great Council (as their Birth-right) a Member of the Senate, a Procurator of St. *Mark*, or any Office relating to the *Arsenal*, University of *Padoua*, or the *Mint*, &c.

And now by all this it appears, that the Children and whole Family of the Duke are prejudiced by his being called to that Dignity, especially in its being a Charge, and no profit to him, and yet

yet there are none of them, but desire the honour of being Duke, which contradicts that Principle of those that hold it better to be no King, than not to be Absolute; for let them speak their passion as they please, we find by this Example, that Precedence and Authority is so sweet to the ambitious mind of Man, that men will be content to become Prisoners, as this Duke in some kind is, even for a shadow of Majesty and Authority, though without Power.

When the Duke dies, the eldest Councillor is Vice-Duke, and he with the rest of the Council of Ten, takes possession of the Palace, and remains in it until a new Duke is chosen. Three persons called Inquisitors, and five called Correctors, are chosen by the great Council; the three Inquisitors inquire into the Administration of the deceased Duke, and if he be found to have been faulty in it, his Heirs have a Fine laid upon them according to the greatness of the Crime. The five Correctors inquire what Laws are necessary for the good of the Republick, that if any be found needful, they may be made before a new Duke be chosen.

And now as this City is a Member of *Italy*, so the general Interest of it is the same with the Country, in uniting with all the several Estates of it for self-preservation, and being jealous of *France*, which this wise people are sure not to be wanting in, they being perfect Masters in the knowledge of their Interest, and constant in the pursuance of it.

Year 1381.) whereby they sustained great losses, they were much more formidable than they have been since; and their decay giving encouragement to the growing greatness of the several Kingdoms of *Spain* and *France*, each of them designed the subduing of it, which caused a long time great troubles to it, never ending, until by the valour and gallantry of *Andreas Doria* (a Citizen) it was delivered from Foreign Wars, intestine Factions, and settled in Peace and Liberty.

This Prince *Doria* (for so he then was, as the Family still remains) is surely one of the most August Examples of Integrity, Affection, and Faithfulness to his Country, that is met with in any story; for being so great a Captain (especially at Sea) that his fame caused the most potent Princes of those times to contend for him (as *France* and *Spain* being then at variance, and in War, each of those Crowns striving to gain him) he made it his rule to serve him, by whose service he could have the most opportunity of preserving his own Country in Liberty; and as he always conditioned for it, so as soon as he found either of them to intend breach of Faith with him, (as each of them at several times designed the subduing of *Genoua*) he left him, and went to the other, and not being corruptible by the greatest temptations of either Crown, by constancy to his Principles, he made them both at last content to leave his Country in Liberty.

And further, when after this he had delivered them in the Year 1547. from the design of *Fiesco* (one of their Citizens) who aimed at doing the same by them, as the *Medices* had a few Years before done by the Common Wealth of *Florence*, in
Usurping

Usurping the Government , they would have made him Hereditary Duke, he refused it, imploying all his Power and Authority (which was exceeding great) in settling them under the Government of a free State , as they now are , and have ever since continued, without any considerable trouble ; and being satisfied with some honorary Priviledges conferred upon his Family , was content to have the chief of it (as too great , and therefore dangerous in so small a Republick) excluded bearing any Office in the Government ; as for the same reason some other Families are at this day ; wherein they act wisely , no Commonwealth being safe where any in the Government exceeds in Riches, Power or Greatness. And although it may be supposed that *Oliver Cromwell* (did he know the story) esteemed this self-denial great folly, and despised his Memory for it, yet the Faithfulness of *Doria* remains an honour to his Family , whereas the falseness of the other will be a perpetual stain to his ; for although *Cromwells* Ambition , in dividing his Party that he might Rule, may be reckoned as the Foundation of His Majesties blessed Restauration , and upon that account advantageous to the Kingdom , yet he intending no such thing in it, but on the contrary, the setting of himself up in opposition to the King , deserves no thanks , or honourable memory , but detestation and abhorrency for it.

The artifices which *Fiesca* used for Usurping the Government of this Republick , were much like *Cromwells* practices , in pretending great zeal for publick good , with unbounded Charity towards the Poor , and any indigent necessitous Families or persons , carrying courteously and obligingly towards

towards Friends, Strangers, and Inferiours, and dissemblingly towards all he suspected were Enemies to his design, sily and cunningly accusing the Senate of ill Government, and infusing ill Opinions into the people of them, as also of the Family of Prince *Doria*, because likely to oppose him in his design, until having got a party, he seized the Town without any opposition, save what *Andreas Doria* and his Nephew (who was slain in it) made; but when having all at his own devotion, going proudly as well as needlessly the same day in Triumph, to take possession of the Gallies lying in the Harbour, in passing a long plank to one of them he fell into the Sea, where having his Armour on he sunk right down, and so ended his design with his days. Tradition reports him to have been pushed over by one that followed him, although not mentioned in story, to avoid the entailing a revenge in his Family; but whether it was true or no, it is not material for any to be too curious therein.

His death made such a confusion in his Party, that *Andreas Doria* (then very aged) taking the advantage of it dispersed them, set the Senate at liberty (who were before Prisoners) and became again the Founder of the Commonwealth. *Fiesco's* body being found, was judged to be carried some leagues to Sea, and with disgraceful Ceremonies cast into it; his Estate to be confiscated, his Palace demolished, and by Sentence never any House more to be built whereit stood, so that the ruines of his House remain until this day a Monument of his Treachery; as on the contrary, the stately and curious Statues in white Marble of *Andreas Doria*, and his Nephew (who was slain) standing
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on each side of the Stairs ascending the Senate-House of this City, are true Memorials of their Vertues.

The disturbance that this Republick formerly met with in their Government, caused great unsafety in City and Country, which in some measure continued long after; and although the Senate hath of late years reduced both to great security, some Travellers making use of former times, seem to pride much in telling strange stories of it at this day.

It was once my lot to hear one come out of *Italy*, but few weeks before my self, affirm amongst other things of like nature, that besides the daily Murders committed in *Genoua*, there were twenty thousand Highway-men in their Dominions, the Heads whereof were persons of the best Families in *Genoua*, that lived upon robbing, whereas if all that travel through their Territories were robbed, none escaping, there are not (as I have cause to believe) Travellers enough by Land (most going thither by Sea to avoid the dreadful Mountains and Precipices) to maintain a hundred Thieves; for having my self travelled (within a few months after this Gentleman left *Italy*) through their Dominions, from one end to the other of all that is well travellable, I neither met one Traveller, nor heard of one Thief; nor whilst I staid in *Genoua*, which was several weeks, did I hear of one Murder, nor found cause to forbear in the darkest nights walking the streets, when my occasions required it.

I instance in this, first to shew how little heed is to be given to the reports of some Travellers, who speaking often out of envy, passion, or foolish vanity,

nity, in magnifying the dangers they have passed, care not what they say, as this Gentleman did not, who being in years, and Governour to a young Gentleman of Quality, could not but know better. Secondly, That Travellers may not thereby be discouraged; for I cannot but reckon this a very equal Commonwealth, and well worth visiting, having had no cause, whilst I was there, or at *Venice*, to complain of insolency in either of the places, as is ordinary with some to accuse them of. The greatest danger that I could observe in travelling *Italy*, being in making young Gentlemen (not well grounded in Religion) Atheists, by finding so much impiety, and little zeal in a Country which pretends to Infallibility in Religion, and to be the Mother of it.

The Nobility of *Genoua* having the liberty of other Countries, in conversing with Strangers or their own Citizens, are very civil in it (as I have cause to say) towards strangers as well as the rest. But the *Venetians*, being by nature or custom more reserved, have little converse with Travellers, and the Nobility there, wearing a distinguishing Habit, by which they are known, it is dangerous to affront any of them; but as it is so in behalf of them for the maintaining the honour of their Order, so on the contrary, the Law is severe against them, if they dishonour their Quality in abusing others, they having no such Law in either place, as will justify any of them, in calling a Creditor for demanding a just debt of (may be) seven years or more standing, or for not bearing patiently the being consued with a false Mortgage or Title of Land, all the opprobrious names imaginable, as in some other Countries, where, if the loser in return
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give the Debtor any thing more than a sad look, as in telling him he coufened him, or call him Knave (though one who peradventure common Fame speaks void of all moral honesty) be shall be undone for it; though the keeping of his Family from starving might provoke him to say what he did, the Plea of justifying not being allowed in the plainest matters of Fact; a thing which seems to tend much to the encouraging of that oppressi- on, which is sometimes met with from great per- sons; for were Merit and Vertue (which is all that is truly valuable in men) made necessary ingredi- ents in acquiring of honour and respect from o- thers, Immorality would not raign so much in the World as it doth; and since we find by expe- rience, that reverence and respect will follow just and honourable carriage and actions in great per- sons, and that even almost to adoration, it is pity Vice should any where be privileged.

The liberty that is taken in these Cities in the time of their Carnivals, cannot with right be ob- jected against them as any proof of insolency, that being a time of general Licence, taken by persons in disguise, like those that in Winter have lately used Masquerading in *London*, where they exceed the *Italians*, in some times forcing their entrance into other mens Houses contrary to the will of the Owners; so that if men would but make use of that Golden Rule, of doing as they would be done by, they would find no cause to cry out, as some- times they do, of the insolencies of the *Genouesers* and *Venetians*; for though it must be confessed, that the *Italians* in general are of more unconver- sable natures, and more impatient under affronts than other people, yet those qualities are not to be

be imputed to either of these Cities and their Territories, more than to any other parts of Italy, nor so much as to those places in this Country under the King of Spain; neither could I find any cause to blame the Government of these Republicks of Oppression, as is oft the vanity of Travellers to do: For first, their several Revenues are not so great, as render them guilty thereof, that of *Genoa* not being a hundred thousand pounds *ster. per annum*, nor of *Venice* above eight or nine hundred thousand pounds, which is not much considering their Dominions, and their necessary defence against their envious Neighbours. Secondly, What is levied is equally laid upon the people, and then honestly expended for publick good and the necessities of the State, without having any of it vainly wasted, or wanton'd away, their Salaries not being such as their Officers can raise great Estates by, their Taxes in both places being too moderate to bear either Confiscage or large Wages; and the freedom of living, and security at *Venice* is so great, that were they Protestants as they are Papists, I should chuse none of my own Country, to live there before any other Country that I ever saw; for I take it for an undeniable truth, that where the Taxes are no more than are necessary for support of the Government, without bad husbandry or profuseness, and equally levied, the Government cannot be Tyrannical.

This may well expect the censure of those, who being engaged in maintaining an opposite Character, cannot digest contradiction; but since I never found worse from these people than I have here observed, it were ingratitude, and against the

the Laws of Society, to speak ill of them, under whose protection I have lived, and that never did me harm; or having occasion to mention them, not to bear a futable testimony to my experience, though to the disagreeing with such persons, who either as menfearing every thing that is against their appetites, wanting an even and unbiassed mind, or taking reports upon credit, do load them with undeserved reproaches. And none that know me, will imagine I can be led to this by partiality or favour to any thing but truth, being far from an admirer of their Form of Government, though I think well of their Administration (as that which supplies the defect in the other) which is the greatest thing in all Governments. For when equality is the rule, peaceable success and prosperity will be the certain effects of it, as appears by this City, where the Magistrates are so free of all jealousies and fears, that they do not think one Souldier in the Town needful for their security. Nay the ten Lacqueys and other Servants which the Duke is obliged to maintain at his own charge, are not permitted to wear Arms.

And futable to my observation of them herein, I find the forementioned Author of that Book, called the Estates, Empires, and Principalities of the World, writ in French, and translated by Mr. Grimston Serjeant at Arms, bearing this testimony of the *Venetians* in their Government (*viz.*) *Finally, there is a wonderful equality, worthy of much commendations in this City, they respect neither poor nor rich, Gentlemen nor common people; who (as I have said) have some share in this Commonwealth, enjoying many Offices which are very*

beneficial to them : from whence it is , that the people are much affected unto the Nobility, shewing themselves very humble towards them , in requital of which , the Gentlemen are their Protectors ; favouring them in all their necessities, advancing them to Honours whereof they are capable. This Signory hath great regard to poverty , for the which they provide by all good means , spending much money in keeping down the price of Bread , and other things necessary for the life of man , whereby they make the poor, not only subject , but even slaves to them ; it is therefore no wonder if the people do willingly , and without grudging , bear all their burdens , during the necessities of the Commonwealth.

The people of other Towns subject unto this Estate, are in like manner very faithful, for that he that goes to govern them , hath no other end but to do justice to every man , and to assist the Towns which are under his charge. For in doing so , at his return he obtains the greater Honours ; but if he govern himself otherwise, he is punished and no more employed. And beside these reasons for the people loving the *Venetian* Government, there is this also , that they are not charged with insupportable Customs and Impositions , as some miserable Towns are by Tyrants (and the same Author goes further) preferring their Form , manner of Government , Administration , and good Laws , so much before all other Commonwealths , that he affirms , those may be said to have been governed by men that were greedy of spoil and blood, and this hath been guided by the Creator of all things, found out
and

and framed by Philosophers with a perfect composition, &c. And thus much being not my words, but the words of Mr. *Grimston* already published in English, it will I suppose sufficiently justify me in my sense of the City of *Venice*.

After the *Genouesers* were delivered by *Andreas Doria*, from the dangers threatned by the Factious then reigning, and from all fears of Assaults from either *French* or *Spaniard*, to reduce their Government to a certainty, which during their troubles, had in some Years before suffered many alterations, they caused in the Year 1570. a Register to be made of all their free Citizens, which then consisted of five hundred twenty four distinct Families, and of two thousand one hundred twenty four individual persons of ancient Noble Extraction, and of Chief City Families four hundred eighty seven, with a greater number of individual persons belonging to them; upon all which Registered persons (they alone being called Free Citizens) and all such as should descend from them born in *Genoua*, or in the Country under their obedience, taking up their Freedoms by being Inregistered, not being infamous, nor having exercised any Mechanical Trades within three Years before their Election to any place, is settled the right of Government; providing also, that though Infamy or Mechanical Trades should degrade a Citizen as to Government, yet it should not prejudice his Legitimate Children, being of honourable reputation, and arriving afterwards at a better condition, but that such should be restored to their Ancestors Rights and Priviledges; and that to trade by exchange, in Commodities of Silk or Woollen, to go to Sea or negotiate in

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any such-like way, without keeping open Shop, should be permitted to any free Citizen without prejudice to his quality.

But though the Government of this City consists thus in the general of Hereditary Freemen (all the rest of the Inhabitants being reckoned Unfree) yet for the incouragement of Vertue in the Unfree men, the Signory, Colledge and Council in Conjunction, have it in their power every *January* to Elect what number they please (not having the recommendation of any Prince or State) and not exceeding ten out of the Unfree Inhabitants to be of the number of the Registred and Free Citizens, beside that the unregistred Citizens are eligible to many creditable Offices.

Of Free Citizens and such as belong to *Genoua*, there are several who bear the Titles of Princes, Marquesses, and Counts, from their Lands purchased of the King of *Spain*, in *Naples*, *Sicily*, *Milain*, &c. sold unto them by several of those Kings upon condition not to Alienate their Interest to any but a Citizen of *Genoua*, to the end that by their Estates lying in his Territories, he may keep the City in a dependance upon him; the Government of which (save that in it none are born Senators as the Noble *Venetians* are, but come to it by Election) resembles much that of *Venice*, their Affairs being carried on by five several Colledges or Councils, as the *Venetian* Government is, (*viz.*)

1. First, By a Duke (who is stiled most illustrious) Chosen for two Years, with a Council of four hundred, which they call their Senate, but is their greatest Council and Legislative power, Elected annually out of the Freemen.

2. Secondly

2. Secondly, By a Council called the Signory.
3. Thirdly, By a Council called the Colledge.
4. Fourthly, By an Assembly called the Council.
5. Fifthly, By that made up of the Signory and Colledge joined in one.

The great Council called the Senate, consists of the Signory and Colledge, with four hundred Elected annually out of the Freemen, living in the City, twenty five Years of Age, having been four Years at least a Registred Citizen, and not having been of the Council the Year before, the Electors having notwithstanding a liberty, not exceeding sixty persons, to make choice of as many as they please, betwixt twenty two and twenty five Years of Age, to be of the four hundred, three hundred of which, beside the Members of the Signory and Colledge, being the *Quorum*.

This Senate by four parts of five, gives Sanction to new Laws, grants by pluralities of Votes new Taxes or Impositions, and chuseth Officers to many Offices, but not to all, some being in the Election of the Signory, Colledge, and Council joined, unfree Inhabitants being Eligible to many of them.

The Signory consists of the Duke and twelve Councillors, that have been ten Years free, called Governours (who bear the Title of Magnificent) holding their places for two Years, and are not Eligible again in five, these together with the Duke, decide most questions by eight Votes, but in some Cases by eleven; they receive and write Letters, give Audience to Embassadors, grants Patents, and order the payment of Money, &c. and if in matters of publick nature they do not agree, they call the Colledge to them, and

if still they differ, they call the Council, and then the matter in debate is concluded by plurality of Votes.

The Colledge consists of eight Members called Procurators, chosen for two Years (and in four after not Eligible) together with all such as have been Dukes, who are Procurators during Life.

This Colledge decides all matters in debate by two parts of three, manageth the Revenue, lets to Farm, buys and sells for the Republick, and in case of difference, they call the Signory to their assistance, and if still they disagree, they call the Council, and so conclude all matters by plurality of Votes.

That called the Council, consists of the Signory, Colledge, and one hundred more, chosen out of the four hundred of the Senate, eighty of which, beside the Signory and Colledge, being the *Quorum*; these have no single work, but in general, the last debate of Laws, and many other Cases brought to them by the Signory and Colledge joined, which being allowed of, are brought by them to the Senate, who resolves by plurality without debate.

The Signory and Colledge joined, hath the right of ordinary Pardons, carried by two parts of three, but High Treason, Patricide, false Coiners, killing a publick Officer, &c. cannot be pardoned, but by two third parts of the Signory, Colledge, and Council united.

The first debate of all new Laws (agreeable with their Fundamentals) Peace, and War, giving assistance to their Friends, and making Alliances with Foreign States, &c. is by the Signory and Colledge joined, and what is resolved upon by them

them with four parts of five; they bring to the Council for their allowance, but all matters interfering (in the least) with the fundamentals agreed upon in the Year 1576. (when they perfected their Model of Government) and laying of new Taxes, with some other Cases, are brought to the Senate or Great Council, where all is resolved by plurality of Votes, without debate, taken by the Ballot, which is used in all their decisions, by every Council. Beside these five Colleges, there are five persons called Conservators of the Laws, whose Office answereth their name, in looking to the keeping of the Laws, and Administring Oaths to the Electors, they being always present at the Election of all the Colleges,

The Duke must dwell in the publick palace, where he is accompanied by two of the twelve Governours, who remain always with him; he is to be one inhabiting in the City, that hath not been Duke in five Years before, that is fifty Years of Age, no Bastard (for though a natural Son of a Noble *Genoueser*, may be of the great Council, he cannot be Duke) and that hath an Estate able to support the Dignity of the place, and is not to lie one Night out of the City, without having first obtained leave of the Senate; he propounds in the Senate and Council, all Laws or other matters of publick concern, and having according to his Election served two Years less three Days, he leaves the publick Palace, and retires to his own House, where he remains private for eight days, in which time, inquiry being made into his Administration, if he be found to have faithfully discharged his Trust, he is made

Procurator during Life, if otherwise, he is proceeded against as a Criminal.

Many Circumstances concerning Magistrates, Offices and the qualification of them, as also belonging to the Ballot, with the manner of it, might be instanced in, but there hath already been so much writ of them by others, that more is needless.

And now as to the particular Interest of *Genoua*, that differs nothing from the general Interest of *Italy*, save that as they have great sums of Money due to them from the Crown of *Spain*, and hold considerable Lands of him in *Naples* and *Sardinia*, so they are more particularly obliged to hold fair with that King than with any other Potentate, though they must do the same towards *France*, as not being able to contest with them; and this much shall serve at present for *Italy*, and its two great Cities of *Venice* and *Genoua*.

THE INTEREST OF DENMARK.

THis Crown hath nothing more left of that which is properly called *Denmark* than *Jutland* (lying upon the *Main*, and joining upon the Dutchy of *Holstein*) with certain Islands in the *Baltick* Sea, as the Isle of *Zealand* (which is the Chief, and wherein stands *Copenhagen*, the Kings Principal Residence, and Metropolis of the Kingdom) *Fenn*, *Langland*, *Laland*, *Bornholme*, *Falster*, and *Femerne*, all lying in the East Sea, and *Friezeland* or *Izeland* in the North Sea; there are many more small Islands in the *Baltick*, but being of little or no consideration, I omit the naming of them.

Until the late Wars betwixt this Crown and that of *Sweden*, that in the Years 1643. to 1645. and again in the Years 1656. and 1657. &c. This King lost some places to the *Swedes*, both in the *Baltick* and upon the *Main*, on the Northside of that Sea joining upon *Sweden*; this Kingdom lay upon both sides of the East Sea, but hath now nothing remaining on the Northside, so that *Denmark* is at present bounded by *Germany*, the North and *Baltick* (or East) Seas.

But

But besides *Denmark* thus described and bounded, this King hath still the Kingdom of *Norway*, divided from *Sweden* on the East by great Mountains, having the Northern Sea on all other sides, and in *Germany* half the Dutchy of *Holstein*, part of those Countries called *Ditchmarsh* and *Idersley*, lying on the North Sea, and his share of the two Counties of *Oldenburgh* and *Delmenhurst*, fallen lately to him by the Death of their Earl, who dying without Legitimate Children, this King and the several Dukes of *Holstein Goddorp*, and *Holstein Ploen*, were his Heirs.

Denmark is an ancient Kingdom, the present Prince being according to their account, the hundred and second King of several Families, all or most Elected, and until the Year 1660. this King writ himself Elective of *Denmark*, and Hereditary only of *Norway*, and his other Dominions.

Whilst this Crown was Elective they had a standing Senate of the Gentry or Nobility (*Denmark* under that Government not allowing of any dignity beside that of a Gentleman, save the Order of the Elephant, and what they had by Offices) without whom the King had not much Power, but in the late Wars between them and the *Swedes*, the last King having got the Command of an Army, and made himself Master of it, and the City of *Copenhagen*, took the opportunity soon after the Conclusion of the Peace with *Sweden*, to cause the Gates of the Town to be shut; into which he, the Senate, and most of the Nobility were retired; permitting who would to come in, but suffering none for eight days to go out. And then the 17. Octob. 1660. he perswaded the

the Senate of the Kingdom, much against their wills, not only to deliver up to him the Instrument which was always in their keeping (called in Dutch a *Handseſſe*) which according to Law he had after his Election Signed, Sealed, and Sworn unto, as King Elect but also to absolve him from his Oath, deſtroying themselves of their Power, and inſteſting him with it, acknowledging him as their Hereditary and Absolute King, for him and his Heirs for ever, from which time, he hath ever ſince writ himself Hereditary King of *Denmark*, and exerciſed a deſpoticall Government, whereas before he writ but King Elect of *Denmark*, and Hereditary only of *Norway*. The next day being the 18. of *October*, he was with ſolemn Ceremony publickly upon a Theatre inſtalled, having then the Globe, Sword, Scepter, and Crown delivered to him by the Senate, who making vertue of neceſſity, ſaluted him by his new acquired Addition.

This alteration was with the more eaſe effected, becauſe the Cities, Commonalty, and Clergy having none of them any ſhare in the Government, either by themſelves or Representatives, all Power and Authority being in the King, together with a ſtanding Senate of a few Gentlemen, who (from bearing hard, as the people thought, upon them) had in ſtraights little intereſt left beyond the Gates of their own Houſes, when by the miſfortune of the War they were driven into *Copenhagen*, whither the King with his Army was retired, there remained little more for him, to do in the caſe, than to let them know what he would have them to do, or upon reſuſal, to tell them their doom; for the people reflecting (as in ſuch caſes they always do) upon their Governours,

vernours, as the cause of their misery, were at first well pleased with the Change, as sick men are with the change of Beds; but, as I have heard, it was not long before they repented the Mutation, finding soon a difference betwixt a Government at the will of one man solely (in opposition to which *Solomon* saith, *That in the multitude of Counsellors there is safety*) and in conjunction with others, whose Interest in a great measure was bound up with the good and prosperity of the Community: but however it was obtained, this present King being a person of more than ordinary moral Vertues, exercising his Power moderately and wisely, he will without doubt, during his time, maintain this new Government; but shall the Crown at any time fall to a weak or dissolute Prince, it is more than probable, that the Nobility will then remember their ancient Rights, and think it lawful to recover by Force what was by Force or Fraud taken from them; for as I am informed, though the King since he was Hereditary, hath assumed the Conferring Titles of Hopour, as of Barons and Counts, &c., which they never before did, few or none of the ancient Gentry do accept of those Dignities, as if they affected the old way of Government better than the new.

In this design the King had not one of the Nobility of the Country that joyned with him, nor was the Cabal more in number, beside the King and Queen, than three, (*viz.*) *Monsieur Gabell* of mean Birth, but Chief Minister of State (who is by this King laid aside) the Bishop of *Copenhagen*, and the Mayor or Burgo-Master of the Town, not one of which was a Gentleman, or is yet made one,

one, or have had any Title conferred upon them, as hath been done to others since the making of the Crown Hereditary, saving that the Bishop had the bare Title of Archbishop given him during his life, without any increase of Revenue or Jurisdiction, his Successor having only the empty Title, as before, of Bishop; and it is probable, (according to the Proverb) that though the King loved the Treason he hated the Traitors, not thinking them worthy to be ennobled, that had betrayed the Liberty of their Country, than which no crime can be more odious.

Anciently *Sweden* was esteemed subordinate to *Denmark*, and was often under the Government of that Kingdom, but not being able to bear the Danish Yoke, they cast it off, and making *Gustavus Errikson*, Grandfather to *Gustavus Adolphus* (a private Nobleman) in the year 1528. King, they revolted from *Denmark*, and thereby entailed unto Posterity an implacable Enmity betwixt the two Crowns, which having several times since broke out into War, and ended for the most part with advantage to the *Swedes*, they are now become Superior to those they were before in subordination unto, whereby the quarrel is made the more irreconcilable.

Formerly *Denmark's* chief Interest (in reference to *Jutland* and *Holstein*, which are contiguous to *Germany*, and the latter a Member of it) was to joyn with the Princes of the Empire, against any Incroachers upon their common Liberties, and it is still the same with them; but beside this; it is their Interest to be always upon their Guard towards *Sweden*, who have of late years aimed at the sole Dominion of the *Baltick*, and will

will not fail to attempt it, when any probable opportunity and advantage is offered him; and as it is a true Maxim, That by the same way that any Prince acquires Dominion, by the same way he must keep it: So as the last King got by Force his absolute Power and Hereditary Title, this must by the same way preserve it, not thinking that the ancient Nobility, who have old roots of Liberty, can easily digest their being by violence (at their flying into *Copenhagen* in time of War for security) being forced thereunto by the Kings not protecting them) devided of their ancient Rights and Priviledges; derived to them from their Ancestors by many hundred of years; or that they will not think it lawful for them at any time, when it is in their power, to recover again by force, what was by such means taken from them; and therefore as from the last Kings Usurpation, perpetual jealousies are likely to be continued betwixt the Crown and the Nobility, so it will probably, at one time or other, give an advantage to the *Swedes*.

And therefore it is further the Interest of this King, to hold a close League and Correspondence with the *States of Holland*, who can in his necessities come best by Sea to his relief, and who (as may be presumed) will never be backward in it, in that it is their Interest, as well to keep *Denmark* under an absolute Dominion (because such a Constitution will never admit of any great improvement of Trade to the lessening of theirs) as it is to keep the balance betwixt the two Northern Kings, without suffering either of them to ingross the whole *Baltick*, from whence they have their Naval Commodities which they cannot be

be without; and that the States of *Holland* are sensible of this concern, they have given several testimonies in our time.

For when *Christian* the Fourth King of *Denmark*, being inflated with his supposed strength at Sea, did think in the year 1644. to have run down the *Swedes*, the *Hollanders* supplied them with twenty Ships, by whose help they gave the *Dane* such an overthrow at Sea, as he hardly in a long time after recovered (if they have yet done it) and again, when the *Swedes* were lately so much Masters of *Denmark*, that had not the *Dane* received assistance, the *Swedes* had in all probability carried their Kingdom, and within a short time after all the *Baltick*; then *Holland* seasonably sent them in the year 1659. a very considerable aid, both by Sea and Land, by whose means, together with the interposition of the Long Parliament of *England* (which after his Majesties Restauration was by him prosecuted) an equal Peace was made betwixt the two Kings, each being kept within tolerable limits: but the *Swedes* being thus prevented in swallowing up of *Denmark*, when they had said in their hearts all was their own, they cannot yet remember it, without passion, though the States of *Holland* deserve so little blame for it, that they merit (even from their Enemies) honour and applause, for not only so well understanding, but also for constantly and stoutly pursuing their true Interest, without which it were impossible for them to stand; for although a Monarchy may live (though poorly) when its Interest is not followed, a Republick can hardly subsist where it is missed; the nature of that Government being (from the impatience and mutinousness

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nousness of the people) either to flourish or not to be at all.

There are some who do not only accuse *Denmark* of missing their Interest in an unreasonable inequality in the distribution of their Church-lands, allowing to those they call Bishops (though such as have only a bare superintendant Authority) Revenues exceeding in proportion the riches of the Nation, and to the rest of the Ministers a miserable livelihood; but also in so doing of great impolicy, rendring it a prejudice to that Kingdom, wresting the lowness of the Nation to the making good that Notion of no Bishop no Poverty. But though I cannot deny the observation to be for the most part true, yet if the *Danes* be concerned in it, I must put the stress thereof (as to them) upon the Revenue rather than a Coercive Power tyrannically exercised, as in some other Countries to the obstructing Trade and Industry; for they cannot be guilty in any thing of that nature, having no Jurisdiction left them.

And therefore, since the Reformers in *Denmark* have stripped their nominal Bishops of all Power, Authority, and Preheminence, allowing them no more precedence than what is below the meanest Gentleman (which being in a Kingdom crosseth that false Maxim of *No Bishop, No King*) they cannot be concerned in this Proverb further than in an unequal distribution of their Church-Revenues; but as the Notion had its rise in time of Popery, so it reacheth only to Popish Bishops, against whom the truth of it may indeed be made out by comparing the prosperity of Protestant Countries under Reformation to what they were before, as also amongst Papists themselves

themselves the riches of those least under the Dominion of the Church, to those most under it, as of *Venice* to other parts of *Italy*, *France* to *Spain*, and even in *France*, the Reformed to the Papists, as appears by the former having no common Beggars among them, though the latter are crowded with them.

And were the Revenue of the Bishops (or rather Prolocutors of the Clergy) of this Country, where (as in some other Reformed Churches) there is not allowed any civil jurisdiction to their Ecclesiasticks, so much against the Interest of *Denmark* as some will suggest, it cannot be thought but they, who have formerly had a very wise Senate and great Statesmen, would ere this have reformed the error, especially since they as well as all other *Lutherans*, know that the Notion of Sacrilege in the Case, is a grand Popish Church Cheat, which they have a long time imposed upon the World; for surely it is as lawful for Protestant Princes, in their own Dominions, to alienate Church Lands, without the Popes Consent, as it is for Popish Princes, to do it in their Territories, with his Approbation, as they have in all Ages and Countries frequently practised.

At the Treaty at *Munster* in the Year 1648, four Bishopricks (as is mentioned in the Interest of *Germany*) were made secular Principalities, and given to the Elector of *Brandenburgh*, as also a great share of Church Lands to that Excellent Family. (famous for vigorous and constant asserting of the Protestant Cause) the *Landgrave* of *Hesse Cassel*, in consideration of their sufferings in the late Wars in *Germany*, beside the like Lands given to the Dukes of *Mecklenburgh*, in lieu

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of what they parted with to the *Sweds*, and all with the consent of the Popes Legats, who was afterwards Pope *Alexander* the Seventh; but Instance not herein as thinking Popish practices always fit for Protestants imitation, but as a concurrent Argument in this Case, that if the Church of *Rome* hold it lawful with the Popes allowance to alienate Church Lands from the uses they were given unto, it is much more lawful for Protestant Princes to alienate them from uses they were not given unto.

For the Revenues of the Bishops, &c. being anciently given to unmarried persons in the nature of a trust, for building and repairing of Churches, relief of the Poor, Sick, and Strangers, &c. and but one fourth part for themselves for performing the Idolatrous Worship of their Religion, presuming always that they being single persons, their devotion would lead them to make the Church their Heirs, if the Founders were now living to see their Donations enjoyed by Married persons, no way answering the ends they were given unto, either in their worship, relieving of the Poor, doing charitable Works, or making the Church their Heirs, the Bishops, &c. not having much to do, beside auditing their accounts, most of their time being spent in contriving ways for raising Estates to leave to their Posterities, it may with good reason be conceived, that they would not judge the resuming such Lands from *Emberans* to be Sacrilege, but that the Mahometan Priests, were they in possession of them, had as much right to them as those they call Hereticks; and therefore since part of the Revenue which was intended for relieving of the Poor, and Charitable Works, &c. is not, and the

the rest for performance of Popish Worship, cannot be applied to the uses appointed, it is but reason, that in *Denmark* they should Escheat to the Magistrate, especially being hinderances in the worship of God, the management of such great Estates taking men off from their Ministerial Duties.

And certainly, if any thing of this nature be Sacrilege, it is not meerly because a sort of men from whom Lands are taken, have had Episcopal hands laid upon them (when by the loss of them they are no way hindred in the worship of God, in relation either to themselves or others) but in taking them from such, who by the want of them, are prevented in the discharge of their Duties incumbent upon them as Ministers of the Gospel.

As in the enjoyment of Pluralities, where one living deliciously, in plenty and idleness, doing nothing, hires others for cheapness, not sufficient for the work, or if he be (as few hirings are) gives him so little, that without neglecting his studies and following other business, he cannot keep his Family from starving, so that the persons crying most out against the sin of Sacrilege will be found upon a true enquiry, to be most guilty of it; for Church maintenance cannot rationally be thought to be tied simply to the person of a Minister, because in Orders; but to him executing his Office, being qualified and able in the discharge of the Duty of a Minister. And for one in the Ministry doing nothing, to withhold from him that doth the work, the maintenance belonging to it; or for a Minister who out of covetousness, that he may enjoy several livings

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(especially when one is of a sufficient Revenue for his maintenance) deprives his Parishioners of one part of the Lords Day, in going from one place to another, seems in common sense and reason, to be indisputably sinful, if not Sacrilegious; beside that non-residency hath ever been Condemned, (as well as meddling in affairs of State) by all uncorrupt Councils.

And although I think such a competent Provision for the Ministers of the Gospel, as they may comfortably live upon, bring up their Children, and in some measure provide for them, is *Jure divino*; yet I cannot do so of Princely Revenues, to a sort of men that do nothing proportionable for them, but are rather by them taken off and hindered in the work of the Ministry, nor of pluralities held in *Commendam*.

Trade might be made the Interest of *Denmark*, the Country having convenient Ports, and capable of it, were it not that it is one of those Countries where the Nobility or Gentry, undervaluing all Callings, do undervalue Trade; which principle, together with the jealousy which may be rationally conceived will ever be betwixt the King and Nobility about Dominion, will always obstruct the improving of it, to the keeping of the Country (to the end of the World) in a poor and low Condition. And as all this concerns *Denmark* only, so this is all I have to say at this time of the Interest of that Kingdom.

THE

THE INTEREST OF SWEDEN.

S *Weden* generally taken, with its Territories ancient and modern, gained from *Denmark*, *Poland*, and *Russia*, contains *Sweden* properly so called, *Finland*, *Lapland*, *Serivinia*, *Fal-land*, *Schonen*, *Gothland*, &c. these being divided from the Kingdom of *Norway* by great Mountains on the Westside, having *Masovia* and the frozen Sea on the North, with the Baltick Sea on the South: but beside the main body, thus bounded and understood under the name of *Sweden* being all contiguous, this Crown hath several Islands in the Baltick or East Sea, and upon the Continent *Liesland*, with some other places anciently belonging to *Russia* and *Poland*, as also in *Germany*, the *Upper Pomerania*, with part of the Lower, and part of the Dutchy of *Mechlenburgh*, all divided from *Sweden* by the Baltick Sea, the several Bishopricks of *Bremen* and *Verden*, now erected into a secular principality, lying further into the Empire, on the Southside the River *Elbe*, which flows to *Hamburgh*.

Sweden thus considered makes a formidable Power, unto which they arrived not at once but

by degrees; *Gustavus Errichson* (Grandfather to *Gustavus Adolphus*, and Great Great Grandfather by the Female side of the present young King, and the first King of Sweden of this Family) laying the foundations of its rise.

The contests that this Crown since his time hath had, have been with *Denmark*, *Russia*, *Poland* and *Germany*, in all which they have been gainers; their differences with *Denmark* and *Poland* have risen from the pretences that the Royal Line of those Kingdoms have had to the Crown of *Sweden*, with *Russia* upon the common score of Emulation (as generally falls out between bordering Neighbours) and with *Germany*, upon the account of the late oppressed Princes, to whose assistance they were called.

Sweden is a Kingdom that gives place to none for antiquity; it was anciently, and hath been for the most part Elective, but having unhappily been often under the Administration of bad Kings, it hath had many Changes in Government, having been sometimes under Elective, other times Hereditary Kings, one while under Marshalls or Governours, another while under the Kings of *Denmark*, and again Independent.

Magnus King of *Sweden* (surnamed *Smek*) being deposed, and the Duke of *Mechlenburgh* Crowned King in his stead, *Margarite* Queen of *Denmark*, Widdow to *Hacquine* (Son of *Magnus* who was deposed) recovered *Sweden*, and in the Year 1387. united it to *Denmark* by an act of State for the perpetuity of the Union.

Margaret dying Childless, was succeeded in the three Kingdoms of *Denmark*, *Sweden* and *Norway*, by *Erlich* Duke of *Pomerania*, one of her Nephews,

phew, recommended by her, but he being in a short time after expelled all the Kingdoms for ill Government; Sweden divided from Denmark, and set up *Englebert* Elected out of the Nobility, after whom *Carolus Canutus* a private Nobleman was appointed Governour of Sweden, who out-living many troubles, and deserving well of his Country, was in the Year 1450. Crowned King; but the Archbishop of *Upsal* and his Church Faction, taking advantage of his absence whilst at *Dantzick*, seeking aid of *Poland* against the *Rusche*, called in *Christiern* the first King of Denmark, (and first King of his and this present Family of Denmark) and Crowned him King, but *Carolus* returning, he was restored, and *Christiern* deposed, who remained so until the Year 1470. that *Carolus* died, after which, *Christiern* being again called in and Crowned, was a second time for ill Government deposed, and the Kingdom then Governed by *Steno Sture* (Nephew to *Carolus Canutus*) as Marshal, (he refusing the Crown and to take the title of King) but whilst he was imployed against the *Rusche* who then infested the Kingdom, *John* King of Denmark Son of *Christiern*, was by a Faction Crowned King, but soon after expelled by *Steno*, who dying in the Year 1503. in the thirteenth Year of his Government, *Suanto* one of the Nobility was chosen to succeed as Governour or Marshal, who all his life opposed *Christiern* the second King of Denmark, Son of *John*, but dying in the eighth Year of his Government, was succeeded by *Steno Sture* his Son, who though valiantly opposing the said *Christiern*, yet being slain in Battle, and the Swedes by his fall discomfited, *Christiern* was received and Crowned King,

but

but for his Cruelty and ill Government, was in the Year 1520. expelled, and *Gustavus Errichson*, a Gentleman of a noble Family (and as some say descended (though very remotely) from the race of the ancient Kings of Sweden) was in the Year 1523. Elected King, and Crowned in the Year 1528. And thus from *Margaret of Denmark*, annexing the Crown of Sweden unto Denmark, and from *Christiern* the first, *John* Son of *Christiern*, and *Christiern* the second Son of *John* King of Denmark, and all successively Crowned Kings of Sweden (although some of the Swedes Writers omit them in the Catalogue of their Kings as Usurpers, admitting the three Governours, who contended with them as their lawful Magistrates) proceeded the pretences of the Dane, to the Crown of Sweden.

Gustavus Errichson entailed the Crown in the Year 1540. upon the Heirs Male of his Body, he reigned well thirty eight Years, and was all that time to his people (who had been so restless before) the joy and delight of their hearts, and is still remembered by them with great honour and affection, as all Princes will be that govern justly, according to *Salus Populi suprema lex*, which is the Motto of King *James's* Scotch Gold, in 1602. and 1603. when he came to the Crown of England (as for one instance, the strange affection that the *Lorrainers* bear to their natural Prince (though out of possession) from a grateful remembrance of his Ancestors lenity and justice in Government (compared with their new Masters) do witness.) For the people being naturally bashful, modest, and respectful towards their superiours, loving rest and quietness above
all

all things, have a reverence for their Magistrates (whilst they do them no manifest wrong) almost veneration; but if their superiours make use of their authority to injure and oppress them, then as they are Masters of sense (though happily void of much reason) feeling themselves trod upon, we find like Worms they are apt to turn again, casting all Laws against righting themselves behind their backs, flying as they think to the natural right of self preservation, as few Countries, but in one Age or other have done.

And such hath been the Case of Sweden, where they have a Maxim, that nothing but Virtue, and Heroick actions are worthy of a Crown. For their mutations have not proceeded from any natural unquiet temper in the people, but always from the oppression and ill Government of their Governours, who were as is probable, tempted thereunto, by the advantage they had in the authority and dignity of their persons and places, of laying their own faults upon the provoked and injured people; for as the Swedes have been restless under tyrannical and unjust Princes, so no people have ever been more obedient to good and vertuous Kings than by History they seem to have been, and were not England, Scotland, and Ireland to be excepted, all story would hardly afford us one instance, where Male Administration hath not been the Cause of the Rebellion that hath ever hapned in any Country.

And King James in his advice to his Son, agrees thus far with this Notion, that he counsels him in reference to his Lords, in these words, (viz.) Teach your Nobility to keep your Lives as precisely

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precisely as the meanest, fear not their crying, which is discontented as long as you rule well, for their protestant reformation of Princes never takes effect but where civil Government prevails, (Page 162.)

And that the people do not regard under what Form of Government they live, provided that the end of it (the good of the Commonalty) be but pursued, that so they may be justly and honestly dealt with, which is all they look after, appears by the Cities in *Holland*, where the Citizens do contentedly acquiesce in an Oligarchical Administration, (the worst of Forms) because satisfied that they are not confused nor cheated; for otherwise they who revolted from the King of *Spain*, upon their paying much less than they now do, (even their riches then and now considered) would not probably bear a greater burthen (as they have long done) without ever rising up against it.

Gustavus Errichson left three Sons, *Errich*, *John*, and *Charles*, who all successively came to the Crown of *Sweden*, but the first who came to it in the Year 1561. was (for mis-Government and Marrying disgracefully) deposed, and his Brother *John* (in the Year 1569.) set up and Crowned King in his stead, who inheriting his Fathers Vertues, died in the Year 1592. lamented and beloved of all his people, leaving two Sons, *Sigismundus* and *John* behind him. The first was in his Fathers Life time chosen King of *Poland*, being Crowned in the Year 1580. and after his Fathers Decease was likewise Crowned King of *Sweden*, but having been secretly bred by his Mother (who was a Papist) in her Religion (contrary to the knowledge of his Father, who was a great Enemy

to Popery) and having declared the same at his accession to the Crown of *Poland*, the States of *Sweden* received, and Crowned him King, upon condition of maintaining their then received Religion (which was as it still is the *Lutheran* persuasion) without any way endeavouring the introducing of Popery; which he in no kind observing; but on the contrary, so soon as on his Throne, Erecting Popish Churches, placing Popish Governours in his Castles and Forts, striving to bring in the Romish Religion, they accusing him of breach of Faith, and mischievous practices against the Kingdom, contrary to the end of Government, and Duty of his place, deposed him, yet with offer of chusing his Son *Wladislaus* (a Child) provided they might have the breeding of him in their own Belief, which he refusing (after some Years spent in Treaties, and other endeavours for accommodation, all in vain) the States of the Kingdom in the Year 1607. chose, and Crowned his Uncle *Charles* (the third Son of his Grandfather *Gustavus Ericsson*) their King, and making a second Entail, Entailed the Crown upon his Heirs Male, and in Case of failure thereof, upon Duke *John*, younger Brother to the King of *Poland*, and his Heirs Male, he being a *Lutheran*, and living in *Sweden*, who had before the Election of his Uncle *Charles*, made a solemn Renunciation of his Right to the Crown.

This King *Charles* being zealous in his Religion, and though a *Lutheran*, a Friend and favourer of *Calvinism*, did readily agree with the Estates of the Kingdom, in making several Laws for securing their Liberties and Religion, and among the rest, one against the Heirs of the Crown Marrying Po-
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pish Wives; another against the Succession of any Papist Prince to the Crown, and a third against their Prince accepting of any Foreign Crown, otherwise than upon condition of living in *Sweden*, &c. and from hence the *Poles* pretence to the Kingdom of *Sweden* arising, great Wars betwixt them ensued; wherein *Charles* maintaining his Election successfully, and *Gustavus Adolphus* inheriting his Fathers Gallantry, doing the like, the *Swedes* in the Year 1629. obtained an advantageous Peace or Truce for six Years, in which time they prospered so much, that at the expiration of that term, the *Pole* was easily perswaded to continue the Truce for six and twenty Years longer; which term was not expired, when *Charles Gustavus* the last King of *Sweden*, and Father to this present King, being weary of Peace fell upon *Poland*, where he prevailed exceedingly, until *Denmark* (who must always be jealous of the greatness of *Sweden*) taking the advantage of the Kings ingagement in *Poland*, serving him as he had done the *Pole*, fell in 1655. upon him in time of Peace, necessitating him thereby to make Peace with the *Pole* upon equal terms, which Peace continued until *Casimire* King of *Poland* (having no Heirs) put a period to that Crowns pretence to the Crown of *Sweden*, by resigning his Crown into the hands of the Estates of *Poland*, and withdrawing himself into a Monastery where he lately ended his days, and being the last of the Kings of *Poland* of the *Swedish* Race, hath ended the Title of those Kings to the Crown of *Sweden*, which though (as is probable) will much abate the heats and animosities betwixt the two Crowns, yet it cannot but be

First,

First, The Interest of Sweden to be as well jealous of the *Pole*, as of the *Russe*, they enjoying at present several places anciently belonging to both Countries, and at all times oppose the *Masovicens* access to the Crown of *Poland*, lest otherwise he should become too great for them, who in such Case would not want pretences against Sweden, upon the account of what they possess belonging to both Crowns of *Russia* and *Poland*.

Secondly, The differences that have been, and emulation that is betwixt the two Crowns of Sweden and *Denmark*, arising originally from the revolt of the first from under the Dominion of the latter, and setting up a King of their own, which caused many breaches and Wars betwixt them, wherein the *Swedens* having always reaped great advantage and profit, and the *Dane* sustained as great loss, their differences and animosities being thereby further increased and continued; It is likewise the Interest of Sweden to be jealous of *Denmark*, not trusting too far to Treaties of Peace with a reconciled Enemy (who always keeps agreements more from consideration of Interest than Faith) but be continually upon their Guard towards them.

Thirdly, The *Swede* being become a Prince of the Empire (besides what he may claim by descent) in the possessing those Countries given him in *Germany* by the general Treaty of Peace at *Munster*, as a reward for their good service, in coming to the relief of the oppressed Princes, when unjustly used by the Emperour, it must be his Interest to oppose all incroachments from abroad or at home, upon the *German* Liberties, holding a good correspondence with those Princes and

and the Empire, in being always true to the Interest of the whole, lest otherwise they draw the envy of the Nation upon them (Foreigners in all Countries being ordinarily (even without cause, and much more upon any miscarriage) hated by the Natives) and provoke a Confederacy for driving them out of *Germany*, which would not only be a vast loss unto them, in losing what they now possess, but more in the Friendship of that Nation, from whence they have the most of their recruits, the benefit of which they cannot lose, without being rendred insignificant among considerable Potentates, their own Country, though very large, being from the barrenness of it too thin of people, to do any great matters in the World by; and they ought to consider, that when so mighty a Country as *Germany* shall combine against them, their expulsion will be the less difficult, in that Crossing of the Seas, where wind and weather must be waited for, will be of great disadvantage to them, in the maintaining of their Interest in a Foreign Land.

And in order to the obliging of *Germany*, and their other Neighbours, it is further their Interest, to be true to the triple League, made against *France*, in that the *French* King is at present the only Potentate to be feared, for designing the Universal Monarchy. And therefore as this King is a party to that League, so it is his Interest to be constant to it, for keeping the *French* at home, and within bounds; for should the *French* prevail (in his more than suspected design) although some petty Princes whom he may think fit to make use of, may peradventure be in little worse, if not in better condition by his conquests than before; yet

no King, nor considerable Prince, but by his Conquests must be reduced, and rendered of much less consideration (if suffered to signify any thing) than they now are.

Trade might be made the Interest of Sweden, that Country affording some of the usefulest, and most necessary Commodities, as Copper, Iron, Pitch, and Tar, &c. if after the mode of those Northern Countries, which undervalue all Callings, they did not undervalue Traders, and that War, the Enemy to Trade, were not become so natural to them, that they cannot live contentedly in Peace, and that their Nobility and Military Officers did not affect a state, and manner of living above their Revenues, a habit they have got by the War, which forceth them to seek additions by military service abroad, and to that end, to improve all opportunities for War, which necessitating the King to burthen Trade with excessive Customs and Impositions, renders them altogether incapable of any great increase in Trade, and the seeming desire of the Senate of that Kingdom, for the promoting of it, to be fruitless and ineffectual; and upon consideration of these unpeaceable Circumstances, they may be observed to be the more unfit for Mediators in matters of Peace and War, and thus much for Sweden.

THE INTEREST OF POLAND.

Poland is encompassed with Germany; the Baltick Sea, Russia, Tartaria; the Carpathian Mountains dividing it from Hungaria, and Wallachia. It is an aggregated body consisting of many considerable Provinces, United into one Estate under the name of Poland, that Province denominating the whole by way of eminency, and so named from the word *Pole*, which in their Language signifieth plain, because it is much without Hills; and most of it a level Country.

This Kingdom taken generally is very large, reckoned two thousand six hundred Miles in compass, under an Elective King, who alone without the Council of the Kingdom, hath so little Power, that Writers compare him to the Prince of a Senate, and the Government to an ill digested Aristocracy.

This Country affords staple Commodities enough to make it flourish, as great quantity of all sorts of Grain, Hemp, Flax, Tar, Pitch, Iron, Copper, Lead, Clapboards for Wainscot, Deals, Salt, Honey, Wax, variety of Furs, &c. But the two Orders of the Kingdom, the Bishops, &c. and the

the Nobility (under which title is understood the Gentry as well as the Lords) discouraging Trade by keeping all under them in a slavish condition, rendering them thereby incapable of it in any considerable measure; causeth Poverty in a Land, which of it self is rich and good, and proper for Commerce.

As this Country consists of several large Provinces, so they are subdivided into several Divisions or Circles, called *Palatinates*, each with a Governour called a Palatine, who have Lieutenants called Chastelains, but neither of these Officers are capable of such Offices in any Country, but where they have some Interest by Lands of Inheritance in the Country; and because the Nobility of this Kingdom are very numerous, when necessity requires the making of a new Law, every Palatine calls together all the Nobility of his Precinct to some certain place, where having acquainted them with what is to be treated of, they chuse from among themselves such a number of persons as they think fit to represent them, which they call Nuncios or Messengers, to meet and join with the like from the other Provinces at the place appointed by the King, where they make a distinct body or order, who though less in Dignity than the Senate, yet equal to them in authority, and are a ballance to the Senators, controuling of them, if from the bounty and temptations of the King, they should prove corrupted or byassed, to the endangering of their liberties, which this order doth solely aim at preserving, with regard only to publick good; for though every Lord or Gentleman is absolute over his own Tenants or Peasants, who have no inequalities
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but meer Slaves, yet none can be more jealous of priviledges than they are of their own, so unequal is the corrupt and ambitious nature of man, if not restrained by Laws.

The Religion of this Country is that of *Rome*, with a toleration to all others, as Lutherans, Calvinists, Anabaptists, &c. from whence it was said of them before it was of *Amsterdam*, that if one had lost his Religion he might find it in *Poland*. And this is all the incouragement the trading Towns have, and were it otherwise, and that men were persecuted for Religion, that little Trade they have would soon fall to nothing, and so reduce the Nobility, who (from the slavery of their Peasants) are already low enough, to yet more poverty and want.

The King takes an Oath to reign according to the Laws and Statutes of the Kingdom, to maintain the rights and priviledges of every order, and not to diminish the revenue and limits of the Realm, with a Clause in his Oath, amounting to the absolving of the people from their obedience in case he should govern otherwise; and upon these conditions the Senate promiseth obedience, whose advice and consent the King must have in making War or Peace, leaving Subsidies or Taxes, alienating any of his Lands, or doing any thing of importance that belongs to the Common-Wealth. Infomuch, that it is said of him, that his Power and Authority is more or less according to his Policy or Wit.

This Kingdom is seldom in Peace, being almost continually under the exercise of War, either from *Sweden*, *Muscovia*, *Tartary*, *Turky*, or the *Cossacks*, the two first and they, having pretences
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one upon the other, the third and fourth moved by ambition, and the last a sort of sturdy people, who belong to the Kingdom but rebel against their King; so that *Poland* being frequently necessitated to War, it is their Interest, and indispensibly necessary for them, to have in their Election of a King, an eye chiefly to a Soldier, who may by his wife and good Conduct, the better defend them against their Enemies, avoiding nevertheless the Emperour or one of the *French-Faction*, lest such a one should indanger the loss of their Liberties.

Secondly, It is their Interest to hold a good Correspondence with the *German Princes*, who can never prejudice them, and may in their necessities give them relief, their Country not only joining upon them, but also concerned in Interest to support them, lest otherwise the *Muscovites*, *Turks*, or *Tartars*, prevailing against *Poland*, should afterwards visit them in *Germany*.

And now that *Denmark* and *Sweden*, by their particular animosities against each other, with other Circumstances, are obstructed in Trade; that *Italy* and *Spain* have no genius for it; that the multitude of Sovereignties in *Germany*, laying so many Tolls upon their Rivers and Passes by Land, as is a great impediment to it in that Country; and that *Poland* by its Constitution and Customs, is wholly incapable of it, are all much for the benefit of the Trading parts of *Europe*; And those Countries who making the most use of these advantages, shall most encourage Trade and Traders, will reap the most profit by their prudence, whilst others shall suffer by their folly in neglecting Commerce. And let no man call Tra-

ding a debasement of Gentility (as the politick Author of the State of *England* doth) since it is that without which no Country can be great, or defend themselves against such potent Neighbours at Sea as *England* hath. Since the wisest of Nations account it honourable, as the *Venetians*, and *Italians*; beside, that the *French* King finding it rational to make it so, hath lately declared the exercise of Commerce in a Gentleman to be no prejudice to his Quality; and that the Examples that are against it, are from Countries who esteem the Ministry, Physick, Law (the last the Profession of our Politician) Court employments (save some of the highest Offices) and all Callings, except Military, a debasement of Gentility, as well as Trade, and that in *England* (especially) no person can be an Enemy to Traffick, but he that either ignorantly is so, or Monster like, desires to impoverish and enslave his own Country, and render it a prey to its powerful Neighbours and Enemies. And thus I have done with *Poland*.

A
DISCOURSE
UPON THE
Original, the growth, and decay
OF THE
Reformed Party
IN
FRANCE.

OF all the Countries in Christendom, none hath been so much the Stage of action upon the single score of Religion, as that of *France*, the Reformed there, having since the mystery of iniquity came to its height, been almost in continual exercise of opposition to it, either in way of patient Martyrdom, or Military defence, against the barbarous Massacres, clandestinely plotted and contrived against them, by the bloody and faithless Church of *Rome*.

About the Year 1160. when that Monstrous Doctrine of Transubstantiation first received its Birth, there was at *Lyons* in *France*, a dissolute

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young Merchant called *Waldo* (from whence his Followers after his name were called *Waldenses*) who being brought to repentance, by the means of a signal Judgment, executed (by Heaven) in his presence upon one of his Companions (who was remarkably struck dead at a time of their debauch) falling to the study of the Scripture, became a publick opposer of the new Monster, wherein he was so successful in adherents, that the then Pope *Alexander the Third* thought him and them worth the trouble of his Anathematizing, and chasing from *Lyons* into *Dauphinée* and *Provence*, where this Seed increased so exceedingly in a small time, that reaching *Picardy*, *Flanders*, and *Germany*, it over-run those Countries to that degree, that King *Philip Augustus* of *France*, to prevent its growth, is said to have razed three hundred Gentlemens Seats, destroyed some Walled Cities, and burnt a great number of others in *Picardy*, and *Germany*.

These Disciples were about the same time persecuted by the Bishops of *Mentz* and *Strasburgh*, who burnt them not singly but by heaps, the story of those times reporting fourscore to have been burnt together in one Fire, vainly hoping by such Cruelty to destroy them all suddenly. But notwithstanding the continuance of the like Persecutions, the Lord (who reigneth) ordered all for the good of his Church, making the blood of the Saints the Seed thereof, preserving the truth so far from being thereby extinguished, that it over-spread a great part of *Europe*, multiplying so abundantly, that in less than an hundred Years from *Waldo*, there were found (as *Paris Lyons* affirms) in *Passau* alone (a small Bishoprick in *Germany*) fourscore

fourſcore thouſand of that belief, whoſe Perſecutors not thinking Death ſufficient, but (according to the practice of the Church of *Rome*) loading them with falſe reproaches after they were gone, it moved their Survivors, for their vindication, to publiſh the Articles of their Faith, and grounds of their ſeparation from the Popiſh Church, dedicating of them to the King of *France*.

A multitude of theſe Barbariſms, and the Tranſactions of thoſe times, came to light, partly by the quarrels amongſt the Papiſts themſelves, and partly by the taking of *Montbrun* in the Year 1585. by *Ledigers* the *French* General, who being then a Proteſtant, ſaved the Records and Writings, found in that place, of the perſecuting times, from the Fire, when the Monks had deſigned to have burnt them, becauſe by them, appeared not only the Cruelties practiſed upon the Martyrs, but alſo their pious Lives and Doctrines to be the ſame with the Reformed at this Day, even ſome of their Enemies having in thoſe times honoured their Memories with Diſcourſes of their holy Converſation and Principles.

Thoſe of the ſeparation from *Rome* in the Province of *Albigoise* (a ſmall County in *Languedock* in *France*, from whence comes the name of *Albigenses*) in the Year 1200. ſtood upon their defence, the Cities of *Tholouſe*, *Montaban*, and many others joining with them, having the publick aſſiſtance of *Aragon*, and of many great and private perſons in *England*, which cauſed Pope Innocent the Third, in the Year 1206. to order a diſpute upon the Canon of the Meſſ at *Montoreau*, where *Arnold Hot* maintained the *Albigenses*, againſt a Biſhop in behalf of the Pope; but his

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Legates (two other Bishops) being Moderators, it produced nothing but persecution by that great Persecutor King *Philip Augustus*, who making War against them, forced their flight into *Bohemia*, *Savoy*, and other places; some being reported to have fled into *England*, where the Church party in those times prevailing, they were ill treated.

The Doctrine of *Waldo* was in the fourteenth Age illustrated by *Wickliff* an English man, from whom the Duke of *Lancaster*, with many other Lords and Gentlemen of that Nation are said to have received it, the constant sufferings of the Martyrs giving life to it, and being the Messengers of it through all Christendom.

About a hundred Years after him, rise up *John Huss* and *Jerome of Prague*, to be eminent Witnesses to the truth, who upon the Emperours Summons, and his safe Conduct, appearing at the Council of *Constance*, were contrary to Faith imprisoned, and after some time, to the greater breach of Faith, brought to the Stake, where their comfortable sufferings were the means of the Conversion of many in *Italy* and *Germany*.

This perfidy in the Emperour (which was endeavoured to be justified by the Council of *Constance*, then sitting) provoked *Zisca* to make War against him with forty thousand men, whose success was so eminent and miraculous, that he that is but a little versed in History cannot be ignorant of it; In the Year 1488. the Count of *Farns* the French Kings Lieutenant, went into the *Vallais*, whither many of the *Albigenses*, with their Wives and Children, were fled for safety, and to make short work with them, he put fire to the mouths of the Caves, where the poor Christians were stifled

fled to the number of three thousand of them, of which there were found four hundred Infants, perished in their Cradles, and the Arms of their dead Mothers; at this time the Pope following his opposers into all Countries, with his fulminations and out-cries, they carried grievous persecution along with them into *Bohemia, Polonia, Austria, Dalmatia, Croatia, and Calabria, &c.* but the Lord turned all still to the increasing the number of Believers.

About a hundred Years after *Huss* and *Jerome of Prague*, *Luther* begun his work, whose boldness bringing the *Germans* from the fire to the Sword, produced a great reformation in that Country, as the History of those times and places do shew. Not long after him, and in his time, arose several eminent Lights in the Church, as *John Calvin* at *Geneve*, *Melancthon* and *Zwinglius* at *Zurick*, *Oecolampadius* at *Bassell*, *Haller* at *Bearn*, and *Capito* at *Strasburgh*, &c. every one of which have left the Reformation of their several places, as Monuments of their Vertues and Piety.

The *Albigenses* which fled into the Duke of *Savoy's* Country, inhabited in two small Cities, and some Villages in the Vallies of *Piemont*, without Persecution, until the Year 1556: their Belief being near the same with the Peasants of that Country, who had not in the memory of man, known any thing of the Ceremonies of *Rome*, though Neighbours to it, as *Perrin Lyonois* reports, but in this Year the Duke being instigated by the Monks of *Pignorelo*, condemned the poor Christians of his Vallies to the flames, and gave them in Pillage to the Neighbouring Garrisons, who to the number of four hundred, coming up on

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on them in the night, finding them all fled, except a few, who being resolved to suffer, were upon their Knees at Prayers, the Souldiers were so astonished at that pious sight, that they fled in such a dreadful manner and haste, that many lost their Lives in endeavouring to pass a Rivolet; the Monks also in fear quitting their Convent, but were by the Reformed Ministers (more from Charity and good nature, than desert in them) saved from plundering.

The Duke taking this as an affront sent his Army against them, which was likewise put to flight, the General acknowledging his men to be struck with an amazement and terror; after which, the Duke treated with them, and by fair words brought them to rely upon the promises of a Prince, as that which was sacred and inviolable, but the poor credulous Christians had no sooner performed their promise (according to the Principles of their Religion) and laid down their Arms, rendring their Garrisons to him, and themselves at his mercy; than (setting aside all consideration of the Faith of a Prince) all Agreements made with them were broke, and the Souldiers made their Judges and Executioners, who strove to gratifie their Prince, in excelling each other in exquisite Torments, by which means, they presumed either to have driven them out of the Country, or forced them to the renouncing of their Belief; but this Cruelty had a contrary effect, stirring up in the residue that was left, such a miraculous resolution and Courage, that afterward they brought their Enemies to eight or nine several Agreements, which were all as oft faithlessly broken, until at last the Dutchess being moved

moved with pity, and some liking of their Religion, wrought the Duke to agree with them, and in the Year 1561. to give them an absolute Law for the Liberty of their Conscience.

In these times, the Reformed in *France* were not without their exercise, under Persecution and Massacres, there having been great Cruelty practised in that way in *Provence*, in the Year 1543. in the Reign of *Francis* the First, but this oppression was more or less, according to the disposition and temper of their Princes; *Henry* the Second, in the Year 1549. desiring to hear some of the Condemned Martyrs Discourse, had a person brought to him, whom they picked out, as esteeming him one of the weakest, but proving able to baffle the Bishop of *Castillon*, the King would see him die, who at his Execution, the King observing him from a Window where he stood, to turn his Face towards him, was so affrighted, that with an Oath he said, He would come no more to such sights.

The ordinary Courts of Justice being now glutted with Executions, and several Members converted by the Pleading of the Martyrs, the King Ordered in the Year 1550. the holding of a Mercurial, a Court of Justice invented by *Louis* the Twelfth, constituted of the King, the Princes of the Blood, and many other Grandees; this Court was called to the end to send the Reformed as fast to the Shambles, as they should be brought before them, not doubting but such a Constitution would pursue the design; but instead of doing it, many of themselves receiving Conviction from the defences of the Prisoners, some becoming Delinquents were arrested, whilst others being
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more nimble to save themselves took flight: and thus the Lord by contrary means increased the number, and Interest of the Reformed, and in a short time after, rendred them so considerable, as to be able to defend themselves against bloody Massacres and Torments.

This King enjoyed not long his delight in this Course, being in the Year 1559. accidentally slain in a tilting by the Count of *Mongomary* (a French Protestant that bears that Title in France) who when he had received his wound, which he out-lived but a small time, turning towards the *Bastile* (the great Prison in *Paris*) and pointing to it, acknowledged the just Judgment of God upon him, for afflicting the honest people that were in it, which the Cardinal of *Lorrain* hearing, denied, and with an Oath said, *the Devil* *distated the words*.

Francis the Second succeeding (being sixteen Years of Age) his Father *Henry* the Second, the *Guises* taking the advantage of his Minority, dated from the beginning of his Reign, their design for Usurpation of the Crown, and as a popular way to attain thereunto, pretended great zeal for the National Religion (which was as it still is that of *Rome*) and violence against the Reformed, which setting the wits of Scholars and Statesmen at work; some writing for Religion, and others for the State; and one a Treatise called, a Defence against Tyrants, shewing for what Causes, and by what means a people might take up Arms, those who were driven by necessity (finding the Duke of *Guise*, although Hypocritically pretending their Friend, yet secretly designing their destruction) were easily perswaded to stand upon

upon their defence, and take the King of *Navar* for their Head, he being then of the Reformed Religion, the first Prince of the Blood, and in right of his Queen, King of *Navar*; but it was not long before they declined him, casting their Eyes upon his Brother *Lewis* Prince of *Conde*, as in many respects the more fit person.

The Prince of *Conde* accepted of their Election of him for their General, immediately hiding himself, and acting under another name. The place of Conference, for laying down their General Thesis, was at *Aubon*, in the Land of *Vaux*, the regulation of the Execution being at *Nantes*, where the Parliament for *Britaigne* resided. Things were managed with so strange a secrecy, considering the number privy to the design, and the distance of their Correspondence, that the discovery of the Plot came first out of *Italy* and *Germany*, and that but the day before it was to be put in Execution; many suffered Death for this design, but so satisfiedly, that their party was much increased by it.

This caused the calling an Assembly of the Nobles, to meet at *Fountainbleau*, under the name of the little Assembly of Estates; to this Assembly the great Admiral *Coligny*, so much famed for wisdom, presented a request in behalf of the Reformed, which he said he could have had signed by fifty thousand men, who aimed (beside the liberty of Conscience) at nothing but securing the Crown to the Princes of the Blood; The Constable, *Monmorency*, the Chancellor, and many others, made Speeches full of Moderation, but the *Guises* opposed throughout those of the Religion, as knowing they would be the greatest obstruct

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obstructors of their design for Usurpation of the Crown.

The King of *Navar*, and his Brother the Prince of *Conde*, absented, as not daring to trust themselves at Court (though all means possible was used to bring them thither) until the Cardinal of *Burbon* their Brother, having first received the Oaths of the King and Queen for their liberty and security, brought them to it, where they no sooner arrived, than setting all Oaths and engagements aside, they were clapped up close Prisoners, and endeavours made of proceeding against them as Traytors; but finding it difficult to do it legally against Princes of the blood, and not willing to make too gross a breach upon their privileges, it was concluded to send for the King of *Navar* to the King, with design that upon not giving satisfactory answers to his demands, exceptions should be taken at his uncivil and untutiful carriage to the King, and so in rage and fury he should be fallen upon and murdered, in which action the Duke of *Guise* was to have been the first, but his Majesty being moved with pity, not suffering (nor giving the sign for) Execution, the King of *Navar* escaped, though the *French* King did not *Guise's* Censure of being a Poltrone Prince for it, nor yet did the Prince of *Conde* (the King of *Navar's* Brother) so escape his malice, but that he afterwards wrought (though illegally) his Condemnation to die, earnestly endeavouring present Execution, and designed the like against the King of *Navar*, and had probably obtained the Murder of both, though Princes of the blood, and one a King, had not the Death of *Francis* the Second, leaving his Brother *Charles* the Ninth in his

his Minority prevented it, the Council advising the Queen Mother who was then Regent, not to suffer them to die, lest thereby she made the *Guises* her Masters, which consideration did not only save both their lives, but set them at liberty, and made the King of *Navar* Lieutenant General of the Kingdom,

Upon the Death of this King *Francis* the Second, they sent home the Queen of *Scots* (who was his Widow) to begin the troubles in that Country. Now the *Guises* to ingross credit to themselves, and advance their own designs by blemishing of others, and pretending a zealous affection for the deceased King, gave out (contrary to the opinions of the Physicians) that he was poisoned, causing Libels to be cast abroad, bringing even the Queen under suspicion, but fastened it more plainly upon the Protestants, on purpose to render them odious.

This Change caused the calling of an Assembly at *Poissie*, where *Beza*, *Peter Martyr*, and many others of the Reformed appeared, and where the first making a Discourse upon the point of Transubstantiation, in the presence of the Queen and Cardinal of *Lorrain*, he is said to have convinced the latter; and where at another time, clearing it in a long Harangue to the Assembly, that it was not the Protestants that caused the troubles in *France*, but the Corruptions of *Rome*, (though he thereby vexed the Ecclesiasticks, yet in the end) he brought them to conclude with him, upon this following Article concerning the Sacrament.

We confess that Jesus Christ pre- *D'Aubignies*
History of the Civil Wars of France.
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sent to us in the Holy Supper, gives and exhibits truly the substance of his Body and Blood, by the operation of his Holy Spirit, and that we receive and eat Sacramentally and by Faith, the same Body that died for us, to be bone of his bone, and flesh of his flesh, to the end to be quickened, and to deserve all that is requisite to our Salvation; that Faith supported by the word of God, renders things promised as present, and that by the same Faith, we receive truly and certainly, the true and natural body of our Lord, by the vertue of his holy Spirit, and in this manner, we confess the presence of the Body and Blood of our Lord and Saviour in the Holy Supper.

The Cardinal finding this Article to please the Assembly, and being also conformable to his own belief, consented to it, to the great rejoicing of the Queen, and all the Princes; but many of the Doctors bandying against it, they framed another as followeth.

We believe and confess, that in the Holy Sacrament of the Altar, the true Body and Blood of Jesus Christ, is really and substantially under the kinds of Bread and Wine, by the Vertue and Power of the divine word pronounced by the Priest, a Minister ordained only to that effect, according to the Institution and Ordinance of our Lord.

This dispute had several effects, viz. with the Reformed, to the strengthening them in their belief, and with the Papists to a hesitation in theirs, reducing both to such a Moderation, that in many places the latter were willing to part stakes with the former, being content to let them have the use

use of their Churches in turns, which exposed the King and Queen abroad (especially at Rome) to the censure of being staggered in their Faith, and the Duke of *Guise* leaving the Court, industriously helped forward the belief of that report, arguing the truth of it; from their having a little before prevented the Execution of a bloody Massacre which he intended.

The Queen finding her self under great disgust upon this occasion, and threatened both at home and abroad, and desiring to know the strength of the Reformed, in case she should be quarrelled with upon their score, received from two thousand one hundred and fifty Churches, an engagement to spend willingly their Lives and Estates, in defence of their Prince and her. The Papists in many places made great Complaints, at *Aix in Provence*, at the Instigation of the Bishop of *Cisteron* and a *Cordilere*, they entred into a League, and got together many people, whom the *Cordilere* made believe were invisible, so long as he carried his Wooden Cross before them; they attempting first *Brignols*, where they defeated a Company of the Kings, then Besieging *Besset* which they could not carry, went to *Barriols* which they took, but enjoyed it not long, ere by Command from the Queen, themselves were besieged by the Count of *Carfols*, who retook the Town by Assault; when the *Cordilere* found that his invisibility would not save him, being there slain with his Cross in his hand, and four hundred more with him; the first that entred were two Companies of the Reformed Religion, who when they saw the Town taken, and the Souldiers falling to plunder, retired into the Field, to return thanks to God

for his mercies to them, and when the General sent to them, to come and share with the rest in the booty, as they had in the enterprize; they continued their duty, and desired him to be pleased to suffer them to keep clean hands, and content themselves with having done God and their King the best service they could.

The Queen to prevent such interruptions in the future, Assembled at *St. Germans*, the Princes and Grandees of the Kingdom, at which Assembly was made that Edict, which bears the name of that of *January*, for the security of the Protestants in the free exercise of their Religion, to which all the Ministers of State and Deputies agreed.

The 4th of *August* 1561. the Queen writ a long Letter to the Pope (which *d'Avila* doth not mention, though *D'Aubigne* doth) setting forth the dangerous condition of *France*, by reason of Religion, reproving most of the material errors in the Church of *Rome*, desiring his Concurrence in reforming of them; for *Bexa* by his appearance at the Assembly, had not only procured the Edict of *January* for the Reformed, but so far advanced the Reformation, as to gain the Queens Recommendation of it to the Pope; but Peace being contrary to the design of the *Guises*, they would not suffer the Edict to work, but immediately after the granting of it, contrived several Measures against the Reformed, as in *March* following at *Vassy* in *Champaigne*, where the Duke of *Guise* himself was in person. In *April* at *Sens* in *Burgundy*. In *May* at *Marseillis*, *Aix*, *Salon*, and several other Cities in *Provence*; for the *Guises* dreading the Reformed as the Chief party that would obstruct their aspiring to the Crown, all Edicts

Edicts for preservation of the Religion were laid aside, and no way of destroying the Reformed neglected, as by stabbing, stoning, strangling, burning, famishing, drowning, stifling, and others too tedious to enumerate; which grand Cruelties moving several great persons to compassion, they met at the great Admiral's, to consider of some way for their preservation; but as the wisest men are commonly the least daring, because most sensible of danger, so the Admiral who was reckoned as the *Solomon* of that Age, by the strength of reason silenced them all, until by an extraordinary providence he was prevailed with; the story of which, *Monsieur d'Aubignie*, who was the Favourite of *Henry* the Fourth, and writ by his Order, affirms to be as followeth.

This great and wise man the Admiral being one Night wakened out of his sleep by the sighs and groans of his Lady, and endeavouring to satisfy her in that which he knew was her trouble, and to arm her with patience under persecution, gave her occasion to speak to him in this manner.

Sir, It is great regret to me, that I trouble and disturb your rest by my unquietness, but the Members of *Christ*, being so torn as they are at this day, of which Body we are part, how can we, or any other part remain insensible? You Sir, have not so little sense as much strength to hide it, can you take it ill from your faithful moiety, if with more freedom than respect, she pours out her tears and thoughts into your bosom? We lie here, Sir, in fulness and plenty, whilst our Brethren, flesh of our flesh, and bone of our bone, are some in

Monsieur D'Aubigny his History.

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Dungeons, and others in the Fields, at the mercy of the Dogs and Ravens, this Bed is a Grave to me, whilst they want Graves, and these Sheets reproaches, whilst they want winding Sheets. Can we sleep quietly, and not hear the departing groans of our dying Brethren? I cannot but remember the prudent discourse by which you shut the mouths of the Lords your Brothers, and the rest of the Company, tearing from them all their Hearts, and leaving them as well without Courage as answer; I tremble to think that this prudence is only from the World, and that to be wise for men is not to be so for God, who having given you the knowledge of a great Captain, can you in Conscience refuse the use of it for his Children? You have vowed otherwise to me, and your Truncheon, Sir, is the Truncheon of God, and can you fear he will make you culpable for following him? the Sword that you wear, is it to oppress the afflicted, or to redeem them from the power of Tyrants? You have confessed the Justice of their Arms, since they are forced to them, can your Heart quit the love of Right, for the fear of Success? It is God that taketh away sense from those that resist him, under colour of sparing Blood, and he will save the Soul of him that will lose it, and lose the Soul of him that will save it. Sir, I have now poured out my Heart to you, in behalf of so much Bloodshed of ours, which Blood, and your Wives Cries to Heaven, go from this Bed to God against you, for Murdering those which you will not hinder from being Murdered. This powerful Speech drew from the Admiral, after some pause, this Answer.

Since I have gained nothing by this Evenings reasoning,

reasoning, upon the Vanity of popular Commo-
tions; the doubtful entry into a party not for-
med; the difficult beginnings, not against a Mo-
narchy alone, but against the possessors of an
Estate which hath old Roots; so many interested
to maintain it, free from all attempts, either
within or without, in general Peace, new, and in
its first flower, and which is worse, made with
our Neighbours expressly for our ruine, beside the
late defection of the King of *Navar* and Consta-
ble, so much strength on the Enemies side, and
weakness on ours, but that you still remain the
same, lay your hand upon your Heart, and exa-
mine your Constancy, if it can digest general
Roots, the reproaches of Enemies, yea even of
your own party, the Calumnies of the people,
who judge of things according to success, the Treas-
ons of your Friends, flights and exiles into strange
Countries, shame, nakedness, famine, and that
which is more hard, the same to your Children;
examine if you can support a Death by an Execu-
tion; after you have seen your Husband trailed
and exposed to the ignominy of the vulgar; and
in the end your Children infamous; the Valets of
your Enemies, increased by the Wars triumphing
over your labours; I give you three Weeks to
consider hereof, and when you shall be in earnest
satisfied against such accidents, I will go and per-
ish with you and your Friends.

To this she suddenly replied, Sir, the three
Weeks are already finished, you shall never be
overcome by the Vertue of your Enemies; use
yours, and suffer not to lie upon your Head, the
Murthers that will be committed in three Weeks
time, and I summon you in the name of God, to

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defraud us no longer, or I will be a Witness against you at the Day of Judgement.

After this the Admiral applied himself to the raising of his party, and forming of their strength, who chusing the Prince of *Conde* for their Head, became in a short time very powerful, and with the assistance of Queen *Elizabeth* of famous memory, to whom they gave *Haver-de-grace* for caution, they succeeded prosperously, and by a Victory gained in *September 1562*. wherein *Antony of Bourbon* King of *Navar* (Father of *Henry* the Fourth, having imbraced the Popish Religion) was slain; they brought the King not long after to a Peace, and to the granting another Edict (which is as an Act of Parliament in *England*) for the settling of their Religion in Peace and Liberty, Commissioners being appointed to see to the execution and observance of the Articles, under a plausible pretence of reality, when there was so little of sincerity, that instead of observing them, they were soon after their Confirmation broke in every particular, Murthers, and all manner of Injustice being again committed against the Reformed, who when they complained at Court of the wrongs done them, received no other answer, than the clapping up of their Deputies, the Kings party making it matter of laughter, for them to expect the keeping of Edicts or Acts of Parliament.

These Violences soon caused a second War, wherein the Protestants also prevailed, to the bringing the King to a third Edict, by which (because of so many former breaches of Faith and Covenants) were granted to the Reformed four Cautionary Cities for security (to wit) *Rochell*,
Mountaban,

Mountaban, Conyack, and *La Charité*, from which *Grant Rochel* derived their right of standing out against their Kings. Yet notwithstanding this provision for keeping the King to his Agreement, the Council of *Constance*, by the Example of *John Hus* and *Jerome of Prague*, having taught the Papists to believe breach of Faith with those they call Hereticks, to be no offence, but lawful and even meritorious; and the King having been maximed, that Princes are not tied to keep Edicts extorted from them, this last Edict no more than the former was observed, all manner of Cruelty and Massacres being again committed; for the King who had been bred to see Beasts torn in pieces in their blood, was left without Bowels, and Massacres by the frequency of them made natural to him.

This not being the way to Peace, the War was still carried on by the Prince of *Conde* and the Admiral; and the Queen of *Navar* going to *Rochel*, was declared Head of the Reformed, but she devoting her Son (who was after *Henry* the Fourth) to the service of those of the Religion (which is the name the Reformed in *France* are usually called by) having brought him up in their Faith, resigned her Charge to him, declaring under him, his Uncle the Prince of *Conde*, and the Admiral Lieutenant-Generals, they again brought the King to several Agreements, but none of them being kept, necessitated the continuance of the War, to the loss (beside others) of many great persons on both sides, as of the Kings party, the King of *Navar*, Duke of *Guise*, and the Constable *Montmorancy*, were slain; on the Reformed, the Prince of *Conde* was basely assassinated, but left a Son which inherited his Vertues, as *Guise* did

several, who succeeded him in ambition, and carried on the War upon the same design as their Father had begun it,

The War was now managed on the Protestant Party by the Admiral, in the name of the two young Princes of *Naver* as Head, and *Cand* as succeeding his Father in his Command. The Admiral governed affairs so wisely, having always the two young Princes with him, that as the Bishop of *Rodez*, in his History of *Henry* the Fourth confesseth, the King not daring to adventure a Battle with him, nor having any hopes of overcoming the party by force, resolved to make Peace, and work his ends by other means, which was such as even the Bishop calls wicked.

Now the King knowing that the Reformed had (as *Monsieur d'Aubignie* affirms) two hundred Cities in their hands, the worst of which was able to hold out a Siege against a Royal Army for a month at least, with other notable advantages, came to a Treaty with them, giving them another Edict for their security, which was for two years well observed, but to the end, that he might in that time the better compass and bring about his Satanical and deceitful design, he pretended so much kindness to the whole party, especially to the Admiral, that he cast himself at *Rome* under suspicion of liking them too well, and *Monsieur d'Aubignie* is of opinion, that the Admiral had gained much upon the spirit of the King, and had probably got the sole Dominion of him, had not the assiduous workings of the Queen and the *Guises* prevented him: but to leave the uncertainty of this, it is most certain, that the King acted at least a dissembling part to as high a degree, if not

not higher, than ever any had done before him; and as sincerely as a blind, he forced his Sister, altogether against her will, to marry the Prince of Navar, as the greatest pledge of Faith that he was capable of giving to the Reformed, pretended to make War against the King of Spain in the Low Countries; in favour of the Protestants, gave them all they could desire, denied the Admiral no request, granting him those Suits which before he had refused his Mother and Brothers, called him Father, yarelling him and his Friends in the highest manner imaginable, accompanied with the like tokens of sincerity; and yet all but to delude the Protestants into a belief of his integrity, that so bringing them together to the Marriage of the Prince of Navar, he might the better at once butcher them all.

Oh the monstrous and horrible Hypocrisie of the heart of man! too many believed, whilst others mistrusted him, the Excellent Queen of Navar (whom the Papists confess excused her Sex, having no fault but Heresie) unhappily coming to the Marriage of her Son, was by poyson prevented the seeing of it, and from her death the Prince her Son took the Title of King of Navar. This sad beginning was excused by the Court the best they could, denying the poyson (though no doubt is made of it, Monsieur d'Avila himself confessing it to be done by a pair of Gloves) that it might not hinder the Marriage, nor subsequent design, the days for Execution of both being set and could not be deferred, and within six days after the Solemnity, upon St. Bartholomews day, the four and twentieth of August, 1572. was that horrid Massacre of Paris perpetrated, wherein the famous

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famous old Admiral, twenty other great Persons, twelve hundred Gentlemen, and throughout the Cities of the Kingdom; after the example of *Paris*, near one hundred thousand in all (according to the Bishop of *Rodez* report) were most Satanically assassinated in cold Blood. The King of *Navar* and young Prince of *Conde* being forced to go to Mass to save their lives. This Butchery was acted with such inhumanity, that neither Age, Sex, nor Relation was spared; but Uncles became the Executioners of their Nephews and Nieces, as Nephews of their Uncles and Annts, furable to the spirit of Cruelty, running along with the Doctrine of *Rome*.

The King made his boast of this inhumane Cruelty, asking the Queen if he had not dissembled well, and went to the Parliament at *Paris* on purpose to own the Act, where *Monsieur Thou*, Chief President of the Court (and who, at home had wept, complaining of the Massacre) made a long Harangue to the King in commendations of it, and of that Principle, That he knows not how to Reign, that knows not how to dissemble; such Vassals and Slaves are sometimes the best of Courtiers, to the lusts and wills of their Masters.

There were none that knew of this Plot, and had their hands in it before it came to Execution, beside the King, Queen, Dukes of *Anjou*, *Guise*, and the Cardinal of *Lorraine*, Brother to the latter, it being so secretly carried, whilst it was in agitation, that the Pope and his Consistory was highly offended with the King for his kindness to the Reformed, as not knowing the meaning of it, the King having been so private in it, that he caused

sed a Gentleman (a Favourite of his Brother the Duke of *Anjou*) to be assassinated, because he perceived he had a suspicion of it.

Now as the Judgments of the Lord are for our Instruction, so the several deaths of all these principal Actors in this bloody Tragedy are worthy observation, the King died wallowing in Blood, not only issuing from all the passages of his Body, but as it were in a sweat of Blood from all the pores of it. The two *Guises*, the Duke and Cardinal, were assassinated by command of King *Henry* the Third; the Queen a few days after them died of grief, lamented by none, but hated by every one (as the Bishop of *Rodez* affirms;) And the Duke of *Anjou*, who after the Kings decease came to the Crown, under the name of *Henry* the Third, was slain by a stab from a *Jacobin* Fryer.

And as *Philip* the Second King of *Spain*'s persecution of the Protestant Subjects in his Dominions, and his end is also very observable, so I think it not improper in this place to take notice of both.

Beside this Kings cruelty in the *Netherlands*, and persecuting life, having once escaped a great danger of being cast away at Sea; at his arrival in *Spain*, he appointed two days of rejoycing (as days of Thanksgiving) one at *Validolid*, and the other at *Sevil*, whither he caused those in prison for Religion, to be brought from several places of his Kingdom, upon which days Scaffolds being made for a multitude of Beholders, with a distinction of seats for persons according to their Qualities, the Prisoners were (with Triumphant Ceremonies, and dressed in such Antick manner, as might best make the Beholders merry) led to the
Fires,

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Fires, and burnt before them; but as many faithful Martyrs finished their course at this time, bearing signal testimony to the Truth, so the end of that King (who was so great an Enemy to the Reformed, that he put to death his Eldest Son *Charles*, partly upon suspicion of being a Favourite of them) is as fit to be remembered, he dying also of blood issuing from all the passages of his Body, with a continual vomiting of Vermin (as the Bishop of *Rodez*, in his History of *Henry* the Fourth relates.) And thus the Lord gave them blood to drink, who had delighted in Blood.

The Pope, lest Massacres should have been looked on as a thing of course, and so his Church deprived of the use and benefit of them, to give them credit and reputation, declared a Jubilee for that of *Paris*, and returned thanks unto the King for it, as a means to keep up the practice of them; but notwithstanding his wrath, which aimed at no less than the utter destruction of the people of God, the Lord raised them again, and fortified the remainder of his Church with greater resolution to stand upon their defence than ever, seeming to reprove the Barbarisms of some Princes, and great ones of the World, who vaunt and stand so much upon their Honour, by the more honourable Principles of the publick Executioner of the City of *Lyons*, and the common Soldiers of that Garrison; the first, when commanded to massacre those of the Religion which they had got together, refused to do it, saying, *That his office was to execute persons condemned to dye according to Justice, and not others*; and the latter upon the same Command, *That their duty was to kill their Enemies in the Field, and not in cold Blood*

Blood men in Prisons, which may well be remembred, to the perpetual infamy of those who took that imployment upon them, which both the common Hangman and mercenary Souldiers detested.

After this, the Duke of *Anjou*, by Command of the King, promising to himself the total extinguishment of the Protestant party, besieged *Rochel*, and for the more countenance and terror to the City, having the young King of *Navarre* in his possession, forced his accompanying of him thither; but the Town with the assistance of *Queen Elizabeth*, was so well maintained, that after the Duke had spent, as some report, thirty four thousand Cannon shot against it, and lost forty thousand men, he was forced to rise upon equal terms, granting the Town most honourable and safe Conditions; and the King to make Peace with their whole Party, giving them another Edict for their security.

Now the Duke of *Anjou* being chosen King of *Poland*, posted thither in haste, but was not long absent before his Brother *Charles* the Ninth fell sick, who when near death, sent for the King of *Navarre*, recommending the care of his Queen and Daughter to him, confessing him to be a person of Honour, not esteeming so of his Mother or Brothers (as it seems by his passing them by in the trust) to whom at that time he is said to have born a perfect hatred, though they had been Companions with him in Iniquity. And thus at last, the honourable Principles of the King of *Navarre* were acknowledged by the French King as a just reward of *Navarre's* Vertue to his great Glory, and his Enemies reproach and shame; and soon after this,

this, *Charles* the Ninth left the World in that manner as is before related.

Not long before his death, and when they saw it approaching, his Brother the Duke of *Alañon*, *Montmorency*, and some other *Grandeës*, combined to deprive the *Queen-Mother* of the *Regency*; but the King was no sooner expired, than she prevented them by seizing the Government, in the absence of her Son (the King of *Poland*, now *Henry* the Third) in his name, when immediately causing the King of *Navar* and Prince of *Conde* (both still Prisoners) to be brought before her, after sharp reproofs, she released them. The Prince of *Conde* slipped presently into *Germany*, where he raised Forces for the relief of the oppressed Protestants, but the King was longer in getting away.

Now the War beginning again, the Duke of *Alañon* (the Kings Brother) joyned with the Prince of *Conde*, and in a short time after, the King of *Navar* escaped to *Rochel*, where they received him willingly, but excepted against many of his Followers, as wicked debauched Atheists, without any Morality as well as Religion, which he did not oppose, knowing them to be persons put upon him by the Court, in design to make him as wicked as themselves, the only way, as they thought, to secure him from the Reformed Religion.

The Protestants in the Year 1576. brought *Henry* the Third (now returned out of *Poland*) to a large Edict for the quiet enjoyment of their Religion, at which the Papists being offended, they framed that Catholick League which vexed *France* about twenty years, the beginning was small, but soon

soon increased, the pretence being to maintain Popery and extirpate Reformation, but at bottom the design was first to destroy the Order of Succession in the Royal Race, and then the Line it self, to make way for *Henry Duke of Guise*, who had at that time the advantage of having of his own Family eight or ten Princes in his Party, all persons of useful parts and daring spirits.

The Queen and the *Guises* begin now all to be weary of Peace, the first as being naturally of a turbulent spirit, and not so considerable under it as War, and the others as not holding Peace suitable to their ends. And therefore they put the King upon demanding of the Protestants, the Towns given them by several Edicts for their security, as the Queen did them upon a denial thereof as an unreasonable request, so that a War consequently followed, but lasted not longer than until the Year 1580. that Peace was again concluded, and another Edict for satisfaction of the Reformed granted.

After this the new modelled League increasing, the King was made a meer Cypher, the *Guises* by the power of the League so overtopping him, that at the Assembly, in the Year 1585. held at *Blois*, they forced him to repeal all the Edicts which he had sworn unto, and made for the benefit of the Protestants, and to make another for the banishing of them all; the Ministers within one month, and the rest within six upon pain of death, to disinherit the King of *Navar* and Prince of *Conde*, and to settle the Succession upon their Uncle a Cardinal, an old Man, and one whom they knew could neither have Children, or live long, and this to the end, that when he died, (if they stayed

stayed until then) the *Guises* might step into the Throne.

This gave beginning to the War again, and the King of *Navar*, and Prince of *Conde*, great and just cause to declare the Assembly at *Blois* null and void. Now *Henry* the Third seeing himself laid aside in part, and near a total deposition, the Leaguers name alone being used in many transactions, without once mentioning his, he then plotted as his last remedy, the taking away of the *Guises*, and in the Year 1588. the Court being at *Blois*, the Duke of *Guise*, and his Brother the Cardinal, were by the Kings Command both slain, they being too powerful to be brought to a legal Tryal.

The King endeavoured the seizing of all their Adherents at the same time that they were put to death, and made himself Master of the Dukes young Sons, with some others near hand; but the Duke of *Maisonne*, Brother to the *Guises*, being further off, and having notice of the death of his Brothers, saved himself before he was arrested, and so became the General, and Head of the League. In this same Year, *Henry of Bourbon* Prince of *Conde*, was by his Enemies taken away by poyson; a great loss to the Reformed Church, there dying in him the Vertue of his own particular Line.

The death of the *Guises* wrought variously (*viz.*) with the Leaguers, to the making them the more fierce against the King, and with him for the security of himself, to joyn with the King of *Navar* and his Protestant Party. This Conjunction seemed to carry all before them, beleaguering *Paris* (which held with the League) and in a fair way

way of reducing it, but the Death of *Henry* the Third, by a fatal stroke from a *Jacobin* Fryer (the first of *August* 1589.) prevented their progress, by the distractions that followed thereupon among the united Forces; the Monk was immediately slain by those about the King, which unhappily hindered the further discovery of the Treason; the King lived some hours after the fatal blow, in which time he sent for the King of *Navarre*, declared him (all his own Brothers being dead) his lawful and lineal Successor, advising him to imbrace the Romish Religion, and exhorted his own Party to be faithful to him.

Many stuck to him, in hopes of his following the Kings advice in the change of his Religion, others grew cold as fearing it; he durst not declare any way, that he would not turn for fear of losing the Popish Party, nor that he would, for grieving his old Protestant Party.

The Leaguers bestirred themselves more now than ever, acting all in their own names, calling their true and undoubted King, who had never forfeited his Right, by the name only of *Henry* of *Bourbon*; the Pope cast out his Thunderbolts against the King and his Party, the Leaguers called in the *Spaniard*, and declared the Cardinal of *Bourbon* King; but he not enjoying that Title long, being in a short time after taken away by Death, they proceeded after his Decease without a King, and so far distressed *Henry* the Fourth, that they drive him to *Diep*, from whence he was ready to Imbark for *England*, and had done it, but that by Queen *Elizabeth's* seasonable supplying him with four or five thousand men, gathering breath again, he recovered strength, and came in a little time

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time to be upon equal terms with the Leaguers.

The *Spaniard* (being now entred the Kingdom) solicited the Leaguers to chuse a King, a Book being writ by one *Hotheman*, a great Civilian, to prove the Kingdom of *France* Elective, with power in the States to depose their Kings, according to several Examples instanced in; the King of *Spain* propounded to them to give his Daughter with great advantages to whomsoever they should make King, having an eye either upon the young Duke of *Guise*, who was escaped out of Prison, or upon the young Duke of *Lorrain*; but herein the *Spaniard* was much out in his Politicks; for the Duke of *Maienne* having the power of the Sword, and not in a capacity of answering the *Spaniards* design in a match; himself being married and without a Son for their Daughter, he set *Maienne*, who could not bear the thoughts of any new King but himself, against him, and the Houses of *Lorrain* and *Guise* one against another, and both against *Maienne*, because he obstructed their advancement to the Crown, and so *Spain* divided the League which they should have kept united, as those by whom they were to have wrought their ends.

The War went on still with struglings on both sides, and with various success, until at last *Henry* the Fourth, partly from the importunity of his Popish Friends, & partly from mistrust of Providence, declared himself a Papist, whereby making *Henry* the Thirds Party firm to him, and his own old Protestant Friends not forsaking him (though highly grieved at his revolt) he carried all before him.

The

The King sent an Embassador to *Rome* to procure his acceptance and reconciliation there, as the King of *Spain* and the Leaguers sent theirs to oppose it, pleading him to be a Relapser, and therefore his Recantation not to be received; especially it not being, as they alledged, sincere but feigned, and from necessity. Great strivings there were a long time at *Rome* on both sides, the one to be received, and the other to hinder it, until at last the Kings affairs increasing, an end was put to the dispute by the Popes acceptance of him, which was not long done, before the Duke of *Guise* (who waited for an honourable pretence for coming in to the King) left his Uncle the Duke of *Maienne*, and made his Peace. Many followed his Example, while the League kept yet together under their Head and General, but in a short time the King reduced them all; some by force, and others by kindness. The Duke of *Maienne* was the last of the *French* Army that stood out, and yet notwithstanding (with a remarkable Clemency) the King gave him honourable Conditions, at a time when he was not in a capacity of resisting, telling him after he had (at their first meeting) walked him round his Camp at a greater rate than he was well able to bear, being fat and corpulent, whereas the King was spare and nimble, that he had thereby revenged himself sufficiently upon him; a revenge suitable to the magnanimity and greatness of his Soul, Cruelty and Oppression being the effects of Cowardise and baseness.

After this the King having to do with none but the *Spaniard*, he forced him easily to a Peace, which was concluded at *Vervin*, betwixt the two Kings and the Duke of *Savoy*, by Articles sworn

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unto for them and their Allies; so that *Geneve* being declared an Ally of *France*, and comprehended in the Peace, thinking themselves thereby secure, entertained an intimate correspondence with *Savoy*, they having always an Agent from him residing with them; but that Duke in a few Years after, whilst in full Peace (with a Hypocritical pretence of Friendship) plotted the surprising of the City, with an intent to have put all to the Sword, and was so far advanced in his false and wicked design, that the 12th of *December* (in the Year 1602.) being a dark night, he had put two hundred men over the Walls into the Town, had fixed a *Petarr* to one of the Gates, and had twelve or fifteen hundred Souldiers more, near at hand, ready to enter, himself not being much further off with other assistance, so that not fearing a failure in the least, he sent Couriers several ways to his Friends, to carry the news of his being Master of *Geneve*; but when he had said in his Heart they were in his hands, and he would devour them, in that wherein he dealt proudly God was above him, preventing all, by the accidental killing of the man that was to have given Fire to the *Petar*, by which means the Town having time to rise, they slew and took Prisoners most of those that were entered, being many of them persons of the best quality of *Savoy*; those taken alive (though on the Lords Day in the Morning) were by the Justice of the Town tryed as Traitors (and not as Prisoners of War, because in time of full Peace) Condemned and Executed, by cutting off their Heads, the Bodies of all the slain, as well as of those beheaded being thrown the same Day into the *Lac de Prou* (into which at the Town the
Lake

Lake of *Geneve* falls) their Heads being all set upon a Pole near the City; this was so great a deliverance, that to this time they hold a very solemn Anniversary Day of Thanksgiving for it. The Town would have made War upon the Duke for this breach of Oath and Faith, as thinking their Allies ingaged to second them in it; but *Henry* the Fourth being then in love with Peace, took up the difference; but this horrid and abominable Hypocrisie in the Duke of *Savoy*, with his Ancestors former breach of Faith with his Reformed Subjects, together with *Charles* the Ninth of *France* his Dissimulation, for compassing the Massacre of *Paris*, and his predecessors never keeping Agreements with the Protestants of *France*, may well be a caution to all Separatists to the Church of *Rome*, to be careful how they trust to the Oaths of Popish Princes.

The King of *Navar* now under the Title of *Henry* the Fourth of *France*, having reduced all his Kingdom, applied himself to the settling of it, and to that end made an Act of Oblivion, forgetting the greatest injuries, even that of the Parliament of *Tholouse* their Arraigning, Condemning, and Executing of him in his Effigies as a Traytor, settled the Protestant Religion by an Edict, bearing the name of that

The Edict
of *Nantes*, &c.
is lately published in English.

of *Nantes*, in larger liberty than ever, rendring them equally capable with Papists of all manner of preferments, offices, and priviledges whatsoever, their causes in Law being made triable only by Judicatures, constituted of equal numbers of each Religion, which Edict too long to recite, is declared in express words to be perpetual

tual and irrevocable, bearing date in the Year 1598. And beside this, the King to the advantage of the Religion, gave countenance to the Edict, by making (in favour of it) choice of the Duke of *Sullie* (a zealous Protestant) for his Chief Favourite and Minister of State, employing him in all his affairs, which trust the Duke answered with so much wisdom and honesty, that in less than twelve Years that the King out-lived the Civil Wars, his Debts were paid, much spent in Building, Taxes lessened, and a Treasure of fifty Millions of Livers gathered; a good Example for Chief Ministers of State.

There is nothing reflects upon this King in his settlement, but the restoring of the Jesuits, who had been banished, as a punishment for one of their Fraternities attempting to stab him in the Heart, though he did it only in the Mouth, upon which Villany it was that one of his Favourites applying it as a warning to him, told him, that as God had struck him in the Mouth, for denying him with his Tongue, so he would in the Heart, when he should deny him there.

Before the Restauration of the Jesuits, the King had several debates in private with the Duke of *Sullie* about it, wherein the Duke overcoming him with reasons for the not doing of it, he (who in the Field had always been a stranger to fear) confessed his fear of the Jesuits, and so reduced the Duke to a silent submission, considering there was no fence against fear; and thus the Jesuits (Enemies to humane Society) were restored, and the Pillar of their shame (erected in *Paris* with reproachful Inscriptions) pulled down, no marks being left upon them for the horridness of their Principles,

Principles, save that whereas the Caps of other Jesuits and Priests are made with a perfect Cross, one part of the Cross (leaving it triangular) is taken from the Jesuits Caps of *France*, of which instead of being ashamed, their impudence is such, that many of them glory in it.

The Jesuits of France have lately got the liberty of making their Caps with a perfect Cross, & wearing of them so as the rest of that Order do.

After settling *France* thus in perfect and entire Peace, subduing all Factions, gathering a Treasure, and by his excellent Government rendring himself the delight of his people, having some great undertaking in his intention, though undeclared, he laid down a method for maintaining of a War, raised an Army of forty thousand men, such as Christendom had not often seen, taking order for such Recruits as he should have need of. His design was, without all peradventure, for the relief of the oppressed States and Princes of *Germany*; how far he looked further is uncertain, but the World had so great an opinion of his Honour, Mercy, Justice, and Faithfulness to his word (in all which, *France* never had the like) that whatever it was he aimed at, they believed, as he negatively professed, that it was not for increasing his own Dominions, being fully contented with what he had.

This Army (which was a terror to the House of *Austria*) being ready to march, the King went to *Paris* to the Coronation of his Queen, when to satisfy her importunity, (though contrary to his own judgment) he settled the Regency upon her in his absence, resolving, after the Ceremonies were finished, to return to his Army; but the very next day after the Coronation and settling of the Re-

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gency, riding in his Coach in *Paris*, he received a stab from a Fryer, which gave him not leave to speak one word. How much the people of *France*, and especially of *Paris* (who had most stood out against him) after they had had experience of his good and vertuous Government, were afflicted at his death, is inexpressible.

The Villain was taken, and put to the Rack for discovering his Complices; but the Bishop of *Rodez* in his History saith no more of it, than that his Confession was not made known, and that when those that examined him were asked of it, they durst make no other answer, than with the shrug of their shoulders; by which there seems to be too too much hinted concerning some person that was too great to be spoken of.

When this great Prince died, the Protestant Religion was in its Zenith, and top of reputation, but good Queen *Elizabeth* being dead some years before, and the Protestant party having now no Protector left them, they being both gone, the Interest of the Reformed begun then to decline.

In the life time of *Henry* the Fourth, some great Persons following his example, revolted from their Religion; but when he was gone, and the Regency (during the Minority of his Son) in the Queen, the hopes of acquiring her Favour, made some prostitute their Consciences, and others, that they might be the more serviceable to her, and render themselves so much the greater deserving her Grace, as they were capable of serving her ends, kept themselves only to the outward profession of their first Principles (as some at this day practise the same policy) in the number of which the Dukes of *Trimonille* and *Boullion* bear too high a rank.

The

The Papists, as loth to be behind any in injuries to those of the Religion, and ambitious of making themselves acceptable to the Court of *Rome*, as others did to the Queen, contrived the bringing back to the Drones of their Church, the Lands in the Principality of *Bearn* in the Kingdom of *Navar*, which had been near sixty years converted to other and better uses. This Province was one of the places, where the Reformation was first settled in Peace and Freedom, by that excellent Queen of *Navar*, Mother to *Henry* the Fourth, and Great Grandmother to *Charles* the Second present King of *England*; but the people, though not able to resist this wrong, yet not knowing how to obey so great an invasion of their Rights, caused the King to advance with his Army to them, who though at first promised the maintaining of their Priviledges, yet the very next day after that promise made to them, took them away, in annexing *Bearn* to *France*, and therein changing the Government of the Country, the expectation of the Kings being true to his word, being looked upon by the Courtiers, as the effects of folly and weakness in the too too credulous Protestants.

Upon this invasion of Right, the whole Protestant party in *France*, esteeming their Religious liberties struck at in it, took up Arms for defence of their Rights and Priviledges, and in them for the relief of *Bearn*, making the Duke of *Rohan* their General, to whose excellent Memoires I refer the Reader to the story of those Wars which followed upon this occasion, what goes before being collected out of other Authors, without making use of *Monsieur d'Avila's* Works; for
although

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although none can deny, but his History of the Civil Wars of *France* is finely writ, and better translated, yet being held by the Protestants upon the place to be very partially done, I have chosen rather in this deduction, to make use of *Monsieur d'Aubignie's* story of the same times, as accounted much more authentick than the other, he having been a great Favourite of *Henry* the Fourth, and by his Order furnished with all necessary helps for writing of his History; and if *Monsieur d'Avila's* care in matters of Fact, was no better, than in affirming *England*, and the Reformists in *Germany*, to be all *Lutherans* (when beside the many *Calvinists* that are in the Empire, the Articles and Discipline of our Church differ so much from the *Lutherans*, that we cannot properly be compared to them) as also, that in the *Bartholomew* Massacre there were but forty thousand murdered, when the Bishop of *Rodez* confesseth, that after the Example of *Paris*, there was throughout the Cities of the Kingdom near a hundred thousand; nor than in his Geographical Description of *Rochel*, *Diep*, and *Bullogne*; making the first to lye over against *England*, the second over against the Mouth of the *Thames*, and the third upon the Ocean Sea; there may be cause to except against his Authority, and to wish, the Translator had bestowed his labour upon some more authentick History of those Times. For since he hath so grossly erred in things easily corrected, it may well be supposed he hath done the same in matters more in the dark.

As the Lords wonderful workings are most taken notice of, when from small beginnings, and contrary means, he produceth great effects, so of most

most stories in the World, none deserves more observation as to both particulars, than this of *France*, where a dissolute young Merchant, called to repentance by an extraordinary means, was the Author of so much light; and where the several ways used for the extinguishing of that light, turned still to the increasing of it, and that to so high a degree, as the Confederation of all the Romish Party, with their bloody practices could never suppress; and where after *Henry* the Fourth had turned his back upon the Truth, contrary to the rule of Apostates (who are generally the most violent against their old Party, to gain credit with their new) he notwithstanding retained so much gratitude to those that set him in his Throne, and confidence of their Principles (knowing they had never been false to their Country, nor troublesome to their Kings, but upon account of liberty of Conscience in the Worship of God) that he left them in perfect liberty, with power to defend themselves against any Invaders of their Rights, leaving at that time many Cities in their hands for their security. And thus being come from the Original of the Reformed, to their condition in their greatest prosperity; I shall so far as is convenient, deduce their decay, and conclude with their present posture.

The Protestant Interest in *France* hath had the same Fortune in its fall as in its advancement, to be followed by many other Countries, the reason of which is not obscure; for although the Lord can and will, when it seems good to him, protect and maintain his Church, as well as raise it without the help of man, yet as the ordinary way of his Providence in the World is by secondary means,

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means, so he made use of good Queen *Elizabeth* as an Instrument, during her Reign, of increasing it to the greatest height it ever arrived at. Whose death followed not many years after by the decease of *Henry* the Fourth of *France*, was the occasion of its sad decay and languishment.

After God had prepared and fitted this excellent Queen for his work, by many troubles and afflictions, delivering her from death, which her unnatural Sister had designed, and that by the means of her greatest Enemy and Persecutor *Philip* the Second of *Spain*, so prodigious in Cruelty upon the account of Religion, that he spared not his own Son and Heir Apparent; she came to the Crown of *England* in a time when Popery was in its Zenith, and at that height, that nothing but an especial over-ruling hand of Providence could have preserved her; for in her own Dominions there were few for Reformation, the King of *Spain* in his greatest Glory, combining with the Pope and all their Adherents against her. In *France* the Protestants grievously afflicted and massacred, without the least hopes of relief, and every where without a head or formidable countenance, so that in many places they were the exercise of Tyrants cruelties, enough to have made the highest spirit yield; as much less made *Henry* the Fourth of *France* (the greatest Souldier of his time) warp; and that she did not sink under her burden, is acknowledged by her Enemies, who look no further than man, to have been the effect of a Courage not to be parallel'd, and by those that go higher, that there was an extraordinary appearance of God in it.

Her work required wisdom and resolution, the
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one alone would not have done it; for had they not both concentrated in her, she must have failed; but she had wisdom to chuse wise and honest Counsellors, or at least to chuse them wise, and by her example and strict eye, make them honest; she was resolute in reforming Religion, and even almost at the same time, in assisting the Protestants in *Scotland* against their Queen, those in *France* against their successive Kings, and the Estates of *Holland* against theirs, levelling her main stroke against the Crown of *Spain*, as the chief Pillar of the Roman Church; she was successful in all she undertook, settling Religion in *Scotland*, *Henry* the Fourth upon his Throne in *France* to do the like there, relieved the *Hollanders*, reduced the Papists in *Ireland*, suppressed at home all the continual Plottings of her Popish Subjects; and when the House of *Austria* in their pride, 'thought none could have done them harm, she when none else was in a capacity of doing it, put a stop to their Carrier, and humbled them, and all with so small, though a well managed Revenne, not burdening of the people, that she became dear to them; she ruled not only over a great people, but in the Hearts of them, making their interest hers, without having any other, which procured reciprocally to her the having but once Purse, the Nation being readier to give than she was to ask, knowing that though Money were given her, if the occasion was taken away, she would return it to the people as she once did. She kept to the Laws, without seeking innovations, loving her Country and people as parents do their children, having no interest but theirs, was a true Justicer, not suffering the Greatness of any to bear down Right;

Sir

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Sir *John Poynes* having a good Cause, was too hard for *Essex* (her greatest Favourite) in a Court-contest betwixt them about that Ceremony called, Serving up all night, in some kind still in use, which the Earl (being at play in the room) thought himself too great to observe and submit unto, until controuled by Sir *John* (whose Office it was to clear the place) he was forced to withdraw, for which the Queen upon a Hearing commended Sir *John*, and blamed the Earl; nor could that Earl maintain his Page against a Country-Gentleman prosecuting him for the blood of his Servant, of whom in a Court-presumption he had been the death; she was true to her Protestant Allies, having few or none else, as quick in giving them relief, as they were in desiring of it, and always true and faithful to her word.

These Excellencies made her formidable in the World, loved by her Friends, feared and honoured by her Enemies, so that in her time, and by her influence Religion in all places (where it had any root) grew and prospered; and espousing the cause of God vigorously, not by halves, but heartily and thoroughly, she rendred her self the Head of the Protestant party, and thereby in her time the greatest Potentate in the Christian part of *Europe*, an Example worthy the Imitation of her Successors, in that by making themselves the Head of the Reformed, they may become the first and most formidable Power of Christendom; and Greatness being that which all Princes aim at, it may well invite those that are capable of it to the design.

The Government of this Queen cannot well be reflected upon, for more than two or three passages in all her days, and he must want Charity as well

well as good Nature, that cannot excuse so few failings in the space of seventy years that she lived, especially when in the general course of her Reign, which was near forty five of them, she so truly pursued the Interest and good of Religion, and the Nation, that thereby the first was increased exceedingly, and the latter rendered glorious all over the World.

Her Death made presently a great change in Councillors and Councils, it not being long after before *England* (whether with or contrary to their then Interest, I leave others to judge) made Peace with *Spain*, and left *Henry* the Fourth of *France* to stand alone, who was at that time the greatest Countenancer of the Reformed, upon the account (at least) of Common Justice and Gratitude, if not Conscience as well as Policy. About eight years after the decease of this Glorious Queen, that Famous King died in that manner, as is before mentioned, and in him the French Protestants best Friend, having left them in his own Country in such perfect Freedom, and in so great Power, that if any considerable Reformed Potentate had, after Queen *Elizabeth's* Example, joyned vigorously with the Dukes of *Rohan*, *Soubize* and *Sully*, and other great Ones of the Religion that were faithful and sincere to the Interest of it, he might with ease have established the Protestant Liberty past shaking; for the Regency (after the death of *Henry* the Fourth, during the Minority of his Son) being in the Queen, a Woman of little experience in Affairs, and full of jealousies, begot such Factions in the State betwixt the Princes of the Blood and other Grandees, that the work would not have been difficult, and would have pre-
vented

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vented the Revolt of some, who forsook their Religion, and have kept others in awe, who did worse, in keeping their Profession on purpose to be the abler to betray the Cause. For they (seeing the party without any Sovereign protection, and the weakness of the Queen, such as gave men of more wit than honesty, opportunity of advancement, by complying with her) sought themselves, some openly by a publick profession of Popery, and others covertly, by seemingly keeping to the Reformed Religion, whilst under-hand they did them the more mischief.

The Emperour seeing the distracted condition of the Reformed Church in *France*, without any to countenance them, was encouraged to Persecution in *Bohemia*, wherein acting contrary to the Conditions upon which they had Elected and Crowned his Son King, they deposed him, and in his place chose the Prince Elector *Palatine*, which occasioned a War betwixt the new King and the Emperour, in which the Prince *Palatine* lost both his Kingdom, and Hereditary Countries.

The Emperour being thereby flattered with success, went on against *Germany*, in hopes of making a perfect Conquest of that Country, and had certainly not failed in it, had not the Lord raised up the King of *Sweden* to prevent him. But the prosperous proceedings in *Germany*, especially for the first twelve or thirteen years, of the Popish party, gave encouragement to the Wars against the Reformed in *France*, where, although the two incomparable Brothers, the Dukes of *Rohan* and *Soubize*, were all the Princes that the iniquity of those times had there left faithful to the Cause of God, they had made good their party, and kept

kept their ground in the last, as well as in the first and second Wars, had their Neighbours stood but Neuters, and been faithful to them, as they ought in duty at least to have done; but Counsels running contrary, and that Age affording many concurrent advantages to the Romish Church, not convenient to mention; the persecuted Protestants lost ground daily, until the Long Parliament (as bad as they were) from principles of Policy in reference to their own security, as well as to popular reputation, became (during their time) some countenance to them, their declared Principles being (pretendedly at least) for the suppression and ruine of Popery and advancement of the Reformation, most of their Foreign projects (according to the History of those Times) tending that way, they (being in Treaty with Deputies from *Bordeaux*, upon Articles conducive to the same end, when *Cromwell* Usurping the Government, did not only overthrow the design, but probably betrayed it to the *French* King, with the Lives of some engaged in the business; for Mr. *Jochim Haines* (by birth a *German*) General Engineer to the Army, and one of his own Emissaries, imployed in that Affair, who after *Cromwell* and *Mazatine* were agreed, was pursued through *France*, and escaped miraculously, did believe he was discovered by *Oliver*, his Errand being known only to himself and his Confident; and herein *Cromwell* did more prejudice to the Protestant Cause than is recoverable, or than many such petty Embassies to the Duke and Dutchess of *Savoy* in behalf of the *Waldenses* (which is bragged of by his party) could have repaired.

For the way to have advanced the Protestant
Y Interest,

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Interest, had been to have kept the balance betwixt *France* and *Spain* equal, to the end to have rendred the Reformed in *France* necessary to their King, by which they would have had a formidable Interest in the World; whereas by casting the Scale wholly on the *French* side, that King not standing now much in need of them, forgetting all his former acknowledged obligations, hath at the instance of the Bishops, taken up a severe persecution of them.

Not but that I believe, *Oliver* next unto his own particular Interest, had some kindness for Religion, at least he seemed so to have, as is witnessed by his zealous and passionate Addresses to most, or all the considerable Protestant Princes

Sir Samuel Morland's History of his Negotiation, together with Sir George Downings.

and States of Christendom, as well as to the *French* King, Duke and Dutchesse of *Savoy* themselves, in behalf of the poor Evangelical Churches of *Piemont*, when under dreadful and inhumane persecution from their Prince the Duke of *Savoy* (or his Ministers) but his aspiring was so great, that he made all other designs subservient to his Ambition. And thus having in part, and as far as is at present convenient in reference to this Age, shewed how the decay of the Protestant Interest hath been occasioned, I shall in the next place say something of their present condition.

After the *French* Kings reducing of *Rochel*, in the Year 1628. and making Peace the Year following, with the rest of the Protestant party, the ruine of the Reformed in *France* was by the Bishops designed, and had not the serviceableness of them to their Kings in their Civil as well as Foreign

reign Wars preserved them, it had long ere this been executed, but their necessariness hath been often such, that it hath not only deferred their doom, but also sometimes drawn from their several Kings (for their encouragement) Confirmation of their Priviledges, so that their usefulness hath since their reducement, been the greatest security; for in losing *Rosbel*, they lost their chief place of refuge to fly unto in case of Massacres, having then no other left, save *Sedan* belonging to the Duke of *Bullaigh*, and out of *France*, though upon the edge of it, towards the *Low Countries* and *Germany*, as also *Orange*, belonging to the Prince of that Name, on the other side of *France* towards the *Mediterranean*; the first was parted with to the King, not long after the Surrender of *Rochel* by the Prince of it, to redeem his life when a Prisoner, and had else surely lost it, and the other, the two Princesses Dowagers of *Orange*, the Mother and Grandmother of the present Prince, differing after the death of his Father, about his Guardianship, and consequently of the Government of *Orange*, the *French King* was desired by one of them (according to *Vox populi*) to reconcile them by taking it from them both, who being glad of the occasion, readily besieged it, and in a short time reduced the Castle, the strength of the place, to a heap of Rubbish (which was one of the ancientest, and of the kind, the best Fortifications in *France*) and so left the Protestants in case of Massacres, without any retreat, and at the mercy of the merciless Popish Church, whose impudence hath since been such, as first to endeavour the overthrow of their priviledges all at one push, by that Principle, That

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Faith is not to be kept with Hereticks, nor Princes obliged to the observation of Articles, which they say were extorted from them; and when after so many Confirmations of their Articles in time of Peace, and the devesting those of the Religion of all means of defence, and thereby removing all grounds of fear of them, such Arguments could not be allowed; they cavilled at the Articles themselves, and by wrested and false interpretations endeavoured to ineffectuate them, in despite of their plain and indisputable sense, which is so clear, as takes away all ambiguity and doubt.

And now since the determination of the power of the Reformed, in the loss of all their Cities of security, their persecution hath proceeded from their Bishops (to whose order amongst the Papists Cruelty is annexed) who begun betimes, discharging their malice first against the City of *Pamier*, because far from Court, and so most easie for them to oppress.

The Bishop of this place forced the Reformed to abandon their ancient Temple within the City (for so the *French* Protestants call their Churches) which by ancient right and priviledges they did enjoy, and to content themselves with a small House in the Country, distant from the Suburbs, making it Imprisonment with great penalties, for any Protestant Stranger to lodge one night in Town, though he came to see his Relations, or dispatch business, making it also unlawful to sing Psalms, some poor Artificers being imprisoned for the same, to the thereby exposing their Families to want and famine, through loss of their labour to maintain them. He also took away the very

very Patrimonies of many to give them to his lazy Convents, imprisoning parents, and taking away their children under age to bring up in his Idolatrous Religion, not regarding the Canons of his own Church which forbids such violence, where neither the parents give consent, nor the children capable of making their own choice; he maliciously destroyed the Wine-presses of some, the evening before their use, to deprive them of the Revenue that God and Nature had blessed their endeavours with, as a penalty for having lodged some Protestant Friends but one night, when surprised by bad weather (a small offence to be destroyed for) not only prohibiting the harbouring any of the Religion, but also relieving any in their passing by, himself searching Shops for Apprentices and Journey-men of the Religion, to drive them away, denying them the common priviledges allowed all Strangers throughout France; and *Monsieur Burnet* a Physician, who having married a Wife from *Pamier*, coming but to Town to some Patients, for conservation of their lives, was driven back with so many blows, that soon after he lost his own; nay instead of giving obedience to the Kings Declaration and Decree for restauration of the Protestant Church, he called an Assembly of the Town, consisting of his own party, both Civil and Ecclesiasticks, where himself presiding, he caused to be resolved in the Assembly,

First, That if any person of the Religion should dye in the City, or within his Jurisdiction, the Body should not be buried.

Secondly, That no children of Protestant parents, born since such a certain time, should inhabit in the Town.

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Thirdly, That none of the Religion should keep any Protestant Servants, Men or Women, not born in the City within a limited term.

Fourthly, If any Maid or Widow married one of the Religion, they should not live in the City, if not born in it within such a time.

Fifthly, That none of the Religion one on another, if worth to the value of four thousand pounds sterling, should live in the Town.

Sixthly, That no singing of Psalms, or praying to God by those of the Religion, should be suffered, upon pain of Imprisonment, and great penalties. And as a Seal to all this his malice, he pulled down their Temple without the Town, setting up in the place of it a Gibbet and a Cross, with this Inscription, *Either the Cross or the Gallows*; and after all this, upon an Order surreptitiously obtained, with eight days warning only, turned all the Inhabitants of the Religion out of *Parish*, to the ruine of many Families, reducing them, who before lived plentifully, to Beggery, and to save themselves from starving, to the living upon the Charity of others. Many the like Examples might be given, as at *Cire, Privas*, &c. but that they are grievous to relate.

This course it is probable had been followed in other places, but that it pleased God so to put a stop to it by Changes in the State; which rendered the Reformed so useful, as procured them fresh Confirmation of their priviledges; but though notwithstanding they were grounded upon the good service they had done the King, yet in the Year 1656. there being an Assembly of the Popish Church-men, which continued near two years, they made it their greatest endeavour to stir up

his Majesty to War against the Reformed, who but a little before had preserved him against the designs of the Papists for destroying of him.

Add to more the King to so ungrateful an undertaking; they, who are sufficiently lovers of money, offered him a great sum towards the War, seconding their request with a large Remonstrance drawn up against those of the Religion, stuffed with false suggestions and Calumnies, presented by the Archbishop of *Sens*, wherein to the rendering of their Cruelty very observable, they make the Collections of the Reformed, for the relief of five or six thousand poor, hungry, and naked Christians, driven out of *Savoy* in the last barbarous persecution, to be Criminal, although the King himself had in pity given them *Dauphiné* for refuge, ordering his Governours to receive and let them live, or at least weep and die in Peace; writing to the Dutches of *Savoy* in their behalfs; and when Collections being made in *England*, *Holland*, *Germany*, and *Switzerland*, for them, even some (though few) Lay Papists, as I have heard, being moved with Compassion by a worse than cruel usage of them, contributed to their relief.

This Convention of Bishops not being able to bear the Kings Declaration in favour of the Protestants, ceased not working until they procured another from the King in opposition to theirs, dated the 18th of July 1636. premising that although the Edict of *Nantes*, made by *Henry* the Fourth, had been inviolably kept by the King without the least breach, until he had by Arms reduced to obedience those of the Religion which were revolted, yet having then deprived them

of some privileges which had been granted by the said Edict of *Nantes*, that the Edict ought not therefore to be otherwise observed, than according to the conditions and purpose of the Edict, and Declaration made for the Pacification of the last troubles, whereby they not only overthrew at once all the privileges granted them, and many times confirmed, but also set aside all repealing of all the Edicts, Declarations, Decrees, Rules, Articles, &c. which had at any time been made against them, and likewise even that Declaration of the 21 *May*, 1652. which acknowledgeth, that the Reformed had given such large testimony and proofs of their affections and fidelity to the King, upon several occasions, especially in the late Civil Wars, meaning those from 1649. until 1653. that he remained fully satisfied with them, ordaining in consideration thereof, that they should be maintained in the full and entire enjoyment of the Edict of *Nantes*, and particularly in the free exercise of the Reformed Religion, in all places where it hath been granted to them, notwithstanding any thing whatsoever to the contrary; commanding the opposers thereof to be punished and chastized, as disturbers of the publick Peace, which had been enough to have stopped the mouths of any Bishops, had they not been destitute of all Justice, Gratitude, and good nature, and that Tyranny had not been natural to them of the Church of *Rome*.

Upon this, those of the Religion observing the design of the Bishops, to be the destroying of all their rights and liberties, presented a Paper to the King, humbly desiring the pure and simple execution of the Edict of *Nantes*, as that which ought

ought to be the rule for the determination of all differences. To which the King gave for answer the 1st of April 1658. that he would send Commissioners of the one and the other Religion to the several Provinces, to inquire after all innovations contrary to the Edict of *Nantes*.

Now the Bishops made it first their work, to keep out by their influence, any such number of Commissioners of the Religion, as might signifie any thing, and secondly imposed in all places where they had power, their own construction of the Edict, and where they had none, did it, or at least in a great measure by sending memorials of their own sense and understanding of the whole matter, to those Provinces, as Rules and Directions for the Commissioners to act by.

Whilst Cardinal *Mazarine* was in being, who was honourable and generous, in a grateful remembrance of the good service the Protestants did from 1649. to the Year 1653. in keeping the Crown upon the then young Kings Head, and restoring of himself when the Papists would have turned them both out of Doors; the Bishops could not get forward in their design, but he was no sooner gone, than working upon the Prince of *Copé's* Discontents, being incensed against the Reformed, for adhering to the King, and not to him in the late Civil Wars, to revenge himself he did their business in his Government of *Burgundy* and *Bresse*, especially in the small County of *Gay* near *Geneve*, where in the Year 1662. he demolished all their Churches, they in that Country being near all if not entirely of the Reformed Religion, and his Brother the Prince of *Conté*, following his steps, began also to proceed severely in

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in his Government of *Languedoc*, but was soon after prevented by Death.

At *Arbell* four or five hundred Families were turned out of the City, by a wrested interpretation of the Articles at the reduction of that place, when to the honour of that Town be it remembered, there was not one Family (according to my Information upon the place) that would buy the Bishops favour, and therein a liberty of keeping their habitation in the City at so dear a rate, as the Renunciation of their Religion.

At *Sedan* another Protestant City, after a Jesuit who thought himself excellent at seducing of Protestants, and upon that confidence had sought the employment, could not in some years, give more to his Church in that place, than two men reputed Thieves, and one Woman a Common Strumpet, all which he bought with money; the Jesuits were then at my being there, brought in by force upon them, and part of the Revenue of their University taken from it, to give to them for a foundation.

It is probable that the like proceedings would have been at that time all over *France*, had not this difference betwixt the King and Pope then happening, caused (according to the Maxim of the *French* Court, who always indulge the Protestants in time of danger) a relaxation, the good and bad condition of the Reformed in *France*, depending so much upon Peace and War, that without the latter, in which they may be useful to the King, they are always in danger of persecution, is being difficult for his Majesty, without such a plausible pretence, to resist the assiduous importunity

tunity of his bloody Bishops, all the hard and unjust dealing that those of the Religion have met with since the Death of *Alexandre*. being imputed to their restless malice, the King himself not being in his own nature inclinable to persecution, and the Queen his Mother, having been ever since the Year 1650. (when they did her such great service) thought to have had a kindness for them, upon the account of honour and gratitude, for that whilst she lived, the Bishops could not fully satisfie their inordinate and revengeful Appetites, but since her Death, they have prevailed and gone far in it, common fame rendring their actions very unjust and merciless, in stripping the Reformed of their privileges, which they have as good right unto by Law, as themselves have to any thing they hold: but of the particulars, since the Queens Death, I can say nothing upon knowledge, having been so long a stranger to the Country of *France*: but for further satisfaction therein, I refer the Reader to the late Printed Relation of the sufferings of the Reformed in *France*.

And thus you have a short view of the condition of those of the Religion in *France*, until the latter end of 1665. or beginning of 1666. that the Queen Mother departed this Life, when notwithstanding all the contrivances against them, they were upon the multiplying hand as to number (increase being commonly the effects of persecution), and in a better Estate than many other Reformed Churches at that day in other Countries, where they had formerly flourished, as in *Bohemia*, *Hungaria*, *Austria*, all the Emperours Hereditary Countries, beside in *Piedmont*, where they have of late Years (in all these Countries) been severely used.

And

332. *The original, growth and decay, &c.*

And now upon the whole, I cannot omit observing, that although the Papists do impudently charge the Reformed in *France*, with being disturbers of publick Peace, and Enemies to the State, they were never the cause of any troubles, or ever rise in Arms, except either for the just defence of their Princes, or for Liberty of Conscience established by Law, having been always faithful to their Country and Princes of the Blood, without attempting rebellious subversion of the Government or removal of the Crown, as the Papists (upon slight discontents) have frequently done, and had probably several times prevailed therein, had they not been prevented by the valour and loyalty of the Reformed.

Secondly, That the Proud, Merciless, and Bloody Principles of the Papists, and their Bishops, are so contrary to the meek and peaceable spirit, which our Saviour crowns with blessedness, as may well detect them of Antichristianism, and give sufficient caution unto all people freed from their Yoke to be jealous of them, whose doctrine and practice is breach of Faith and Massacres; or (according to the Prayer appointed by King *James* and Parliament, for the Fifth of *November*) whose Religion is Rebellion, whose Faith is Faction, and whose practice is the Murthering of Souls and Bodies; which expressions were unhappily, as I suppose, forgot by our Bishops, in their framing of our last Service-Book.

A BRIEF

A BRIEF
NARRATIVE
OF

So much as is convenient to be published, of the most material Debates and Passages, in that pretended Parliament or Assembly, Called by Richard Cromwel, and begun the 27 January, an. 1658.

THE over-ruling hand of Providence having upon the third of September taken away the late Usurper; whilst he was in possession of the Title of Protector of the Commonwealth of England, Scotland, and Ireland, his Son Richard was the next day, by the Council at Whitehall Proclaimed his Successor.

Richard (by the Authority thereof) did about three Months after, Issue out Writs for a Parliament to begin the 27 of January following, and the people, who in their diffusive condition, are capable only of obeying their Superiors, and not of disputing

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disputing the Legality or Illegality of their Commands, made choice of Members to serve in Parliament, who according to their Statutory Assembly upon the day appointed.

When they were met, the pretended Protector sent the Black Rod to let them know, that he was in the other House (for so was that Assembly called, which was intended for the House of Lords, and under that name it is in this ensuing Narrative mentioned) and desired to speak to them there, at which call, not above twelve or fifteen went out of the House, though more that were not come in appeared before him; at which time, he made (beyond expectation) a very handsome Speech to them, exceeding that which followed by his Keeper of the Great Seal.

Mr. Chalmers chose was that day chosen Speaker, and after a Bill (left by the precedent Parliament unpassed) was (according to Custom) read, the House adjourned until the next day.

Then a Gentleman was complained of, for affronting two Members, and he Ordered to be brought to the Bar of the House by the Serjeant at Arms. A private Fast to be held in the House, and the persons to perform the Duties of that Day were appointed; and a Committee for Elections and Privileges being Chosen, the House Adjourned until the 31th of *January*, it being Customary, at the beginning of Parliaments, to give the Speaker a Day or two to settle his own Affairs, to the end that he may the better afterwards attend the Service of the House.

The 31 of *January* the Gentleman that affronted the Members, was (according to Order) brought to the Bar of the House upon his Knees, and for his

his offence committed to the Tower, but in a few days, upon his submission, and at the intercession of the Gentlemen abused, he was released.

The first of *February* a Bill was brought in by one of the then Council, under pretence only of acknowledging the pretender to be Protector, but with such words couched in it, as had no less in them, than the admittance of the then Chief Magistrate, and the persons then sitting in the other House, unto the full Power, Privilege and Prerogative of the ancient Kings, and ancient House of Lords, which the Court Party designed to have carried undiscovered.

The Bill was read without much difficulty the first time, which encouraged those of the Long Robe, related to the single person, to press for the reading of it again the same day, to the end, that being the next day read the third time as was designed, it might then have passed into an Act; but in opposition to that, some who were more careful of the liberties of the people, than those of the Long Robe ordinarily are, moved, that according to Rule, in Cases of such weight, it might be referred to a Grand Committee of the whole House, and when that would not be granted, that the second reading of it might at least be put off for some days, and liberty given in the interim to the Members, to take Copies of the Bill; that considering of the business, they might be the more prepared for the Debate; which was yielded unto, and the seventh of *February* appointed for the second reading of it.

The state of Major General *Overton*'s sad and deplorable condition was given at the Door, and at the same time the House was Petitioned by his

Sister

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Sister for a hearing of him by the Parliament themselves, which was readily granted, two Votes passing the same day in order to it.

First, That his Keeper should with all speed bring him, with the Cause of his Imprisonment, before the Parliament.

Secondly, That a Frigate should forthwith be sent to fetch him from the Isle of *Jersey*, where he was then Prisoner. The Court at *Whitehall* was troubled at these Votes, but the Army having a tenderness for their Fellow Soldier, they durst not oppose it, the Votes meeting in the House with but two Negatives to each, so that about six Weeks after, he was brought to the Bar of the House by his Keeper, who produced no Authority for his detainment, but a bare Command without any cause, expressed from the late Usurper *Oliver*; whereupon the Parliament Voted his Imprisonment, Illegal and Unjust, for which there were these reasons given upon the Debate.

First, Because no Chief Magistrate had ever power to commit any person by his own Warrant, for that, as they said, should it be otherwise, the Subjects might be without remedy in Case of wrong done them, which our Law supposeth Free-born English men cannot be.

Secondly, In that there was no cause for his Imprisonment expressed in the Warrant.

Thirdly, Because according to Law no Freeman can be banished but by Act of Parliament, whereas sending Prisoners to *Jersey*, which was said to be out of the reach of a *Habeas Corpus*, was adjudged a banishment contrary to Law, and therefore he was Voted to be released from his Imprisonment, without paying any Fees or Charges.

The

The fifth of *February* a person who had sat in the House some days, being found to be no Member, was for his offence therein Committed to *Newgate*, and not to the *Tower*, though accounted the Parliaments Prison; and that partly, because the Lieutenant, after the Examples of his Predecessors, exacted great Fees without any Authority in Law, which the Parliament intended to regulate and prevent for the future, as being a great grievance; and partly for that upon inquiry, the Offender was found to be under some degree of distraction, which made his Imprisonment not above a day or two.

Upon the 7th of *February* (the day appointed) the Bill for Recognizing the Pretender, was read the second time, and the Debate begun; the Court Party pleaded the Instrument called the Petition and Advice, made by one of *Olivers* Parliaments, as the foundation of his Title, but the Country party denied it to be a Law, and that not only from the inconsistency, lameness, and insufficiency of it, but also from the corrupt manner of procuring it, that Assembly that made it, being no Parliament but a Faction, in that the Members were never suffered to meet, but so many of them kept out by force, and that even by him that called them, as he judged would hinder the Execution of his will: besides, that at the Creation of the Monster, there was of four hundred and sixty Members which were chosen, but one hundred and four in the House; whereof fifty one were against it, and but fifty three for it, among whom were *Scotch* and *Irish* Members, who had no right to sit, but were Usurpers in making Laws for *England*; shewing further, that if Pope

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Alexander the sixth, Cesar Borgia, and their Cabal, had all laid their Heads together, they could not have framed a thing more dangerous and destructive to the liberty of the people, than is the Petition and Advice in several particulars, as in setting so great a Revenue upon the Pretender, that a frugal person might in a few Years heap up all the treasure of the Nation in his own Coffers, and so bring the people to sell him their Land for money, as the Egyptians did theirs, in time of Scarcity to Pharaoh for Corn; besides, that in giving the Purse of the People to the Chief Magistrate, they give away all the security they have for their Rights and Liberties, because having the Purse, he hath power to raise what Forces he pleaseth, and having that, all bounding him signifies no more, than binding a Lyon with paper Chains.

But the Court being resolved of no less than a Turkish Power, would suffer no strength of reason to prevail with them, to the making the Petition and Advice Unauthentick; but as it had force for its original, so it must have the same in the allowance of it for a good Law; which provoked the Country party to demand a proof of the pursuance of that Law, in the Pretenders Election, and that his Designation was according to the directions of it.

But though this was pressed by persons of great Abilities, never any answer was given to it, the Court party knowing that by the strength of their Members they could over-rule the strength of reason; but those for the Country, taking the others silence in the point of proving the Designation, to be a granting that there was none at all, argued, that if the Election of *Richard* was void, and that

that Providence had prevented the Usurper *Oliver* of keeping to the Petition and Advice, in appointing during his Life his Successor; the Law was thereby fallen to the ground, and all Government reverted to its original the people, who ought by their Representatives Assembled in Parliament to bestow it as they should think fit, which would then have been readily given by most of those then present, to the Gentleman in possession, if he and his Party would upon those terms have accepted of it, as they refused it, lest by owning the Parliament to be the Creator of the Government they should own a power in them to destroy their own Creature when they pleased, which they were not for in *Cromwells* Case, though some of them had made the same thing the ground of their fighting in another Case.

This Debate, no man speaking twice to the matter, held eight whole days successively, in which time, great excellency and good affections appeared in several Gentlemen, in their Speeches for the good of the Nation, yet the best they could bring this Debate unto, was to conclude with the two following Votes, as previous to the Commitment of the Bill.

Monday 14 Feb. 1658.

Resolved, that it be part of this Bill, to Recognize and declare his Highness *Richard* Lord Protector, to be Lord Protector and Chief Magistrate of the Common Wealth of *England, Scotland, and Ireland*, and the Dominion and Territories thereunto belonging.

Resolved, that before this Bill be Committed, this House do declare such additional Clauses to be

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part of this Bill, as may bound the Power of the Chief Magistrate, and fully secure the Rights and Priviledges of the Parliament, and Liberties and Rights of the People; and that neither this, nor any other previous Vote, that is or shall be passed in order to this Bill, is or shall be of force or binding unto the People, until the whole Bill be passed.

This last previous Vote passed the House without any Negative, more than that of the Secretary of State; but the Courtiers no sooner knew the sense of *Whitehall* upon it, than from that time forward, they owned themselves such slavish Executioners of the Pretenders Will and Lust, that they never appeared in the least for the making good one word of it, though so necessary at that time for the good of the Nation.

During this Debate several Complaints were made reflecting upon the Court designs; as first, that the Assizes without President. (upon no greater occasion) were put off to the common wrong of the whole Nation., and therefore to the end that the people might receive no prejudice by the sitting of the Parliament (as the Courtiers, were suspected to design, to the end to make them out of love with Parliaments) it was desired, that the Pretender might be moved to Command the carrying on of the Assizes; but the Courtiers being resolved not to lose so considerable a part of their strength as the Lawyers, they would have the whole Nation to suffer in the want of Justice, rather than they would want one of their Members.

Secondly, That *Whitehall* had writ eighty Letters for the making Members of Parliament,
many

many of which had had their effect. That Mr. Howard a Papist had boasted, that at the instance of the Pretender and his Secretary, he had sent twenty Members to Parliament. That several Tables were kept at *Whitehall* at the charge of the publick, on purpose to debauch Members by great Entertainments, all which were acknowledged and declared to be against the Orders of the House; and further, that it is so, for any Member, not a menial Servant, to do so much as to go to *Whitehall* during the sitting of the Parliament.

After this the Secretary gave an account of Foreign Affairs, acquainting the House with a great Sum that was needful for defraying the Naval expences for this next Summer, which gave occasion to the Country-party to bring on in behalf of the publick, a Debate concerning the Navy, wherein arguing, that as the Navy is part of the Militia, and the Militia the then right of the people Assembled in Parliament, and that without the Militia the Parliament could not make good their promises to the people, in bounding the power of the Chief Magistrate, moved, that the House would appoint certain Commissioners for management of the Naval Forces.

The Debate for setting forth a very considerable Fleet to Sea, for the honour and defence of the Commonwealth and Commerce, held not long, the thing being readily agreed unto by all parties, but who should manage the Fleet was a Debate of several days, and at last carried with a strong hand by the Courtiers, that the Pretender should have the disposal of it; all that the Country-party could get into the question being;

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that the making Peace and War should be reserved unto the Parliament.

After this the House fell upon the Consideration of the Commission, that should be given to the Admiral, that was to go for the *Sound*, in reference to the difference betwixt the two Crowns of *Denmark* and *Sweden*.

The Court-party was for joyning with the latter, for the running down of the former, under pretence of revenging the affronts and injuries offered this Nation by the *Dane*, in that time called the Commonwealth, when indeed the true reason was in favour of the *Swede*, who was then in a close and strict League with them: but though the Country-party did agree, that publick offences ought to be publickly reprov'd and punished; yet when that could not be done without danger to the general Affairs of *Europe*, as well as to the particular of *England*, in overthrowing the balance to both, by hazarding the giving the sole Dominion of the *Baltick* to one single Prince, whereas it is now divided amongst many, they (being governed by publick Interest more than private revenge) were for acting a Neutral part; in endeavouring an equal Agreement betwixt the two Kings, which advice was followed.

Mr. *Portman*, a Prisoner in the *Tower*, was upon his Petition brought before the House, with the Cause of his Imprisonment, the Warrant to the Lieutenant of the *Tower* for apprehending him was produced, and being only from the Usurper *Oliver*, in these words, (*viz.*)

Sir, I desire you to seize Major General *Harrison*, Mr. *Carew*, Mr. *Portman*, &c. as it speedily, and you shall have a Warrant after you have done.

The
Parlia-

Parliament Voted his Imprisonment Illegal, Unjust, and Tyrannical, and freed him out of prison without paying Fees or Charges.

This Vote troubled the Courtiers very much, some of them out of zeal to the reputation of their Idol (the deceased Usurper) opposing it with tears; but several other Complaints of a higher nature; as for Banishments, and selling of Gentlemen to the *Barbadoes* came before the House, wherein they were hindered the doing of any thing, for prevention of the like in the future, by their sudden dissolution, though an eminent Sergeant at Law was ordered to bring in a Bill for that purpose.

The accounts of the Commonwealth was called for, and a Committee appointed to examine them, and report the state of them to the House.

The House was called upon by the Country-party to make good their Vote, for bounding the power of the Chief Magistrate, securing the Rights, Liberties, and Privileges of the Parliament and People, and that as they had filled the hearts of all men with joy, in hopes of having their Rights ascertained, so it was moved, that they might not render themselves Juglers, in promising what they never intended to perform; but to take the several parts of the previous Vote into consideration: and as bounding the Chief Magistrate is first in order, so to begin with it; yet such was the dissingenuity of the Court-party, being made up of Household-Servants, Officers, Suiters for Offices, Lawyers (the corrupt part of whose Trade cannot be maintained but by a corrupt Government) *Scotch* and *Irish* Members, chosen by the Pretenders Interest, that no arguments

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of Honour or Honesty would engage them to be faithful to their Country ; such as were most open confessing plainly, that they were so far from bounding the Chief Magistrate, that they desired to give him as much Power as any King or Prince of *England* ever had ; but others more prudent waved bounding of the Chief Magistrate, under pretence of first settling the Constitution of the Government, and so leaving the other dispute ; and falling upon the Debate of that, after some days spent in it, it was at last Voted, that it should be part of the Bill for Recognizing the Protector, to declare the Parliament to consist of two Houses.

After this the House was again put in mind of their duty to the people, and urged to fall upon bounding of the Power of the Chief Magistrate, which as it was first in order, so ought to have been first in Debate ; but the Courtiers commanding all by the strength of their Members, waved the Chief Magistrate, and fell upon the Constitution of the other House, in which some days were spent in disputes betwixt the new and old Royalists, the Commonwealth-men remaining silent, to see what the strength of the others brains would produce ; the first was for the new Created Lords with a mixture of the old ; upon such limitations as they might not over-top the new ; the other for the old Lords with a mixture of the new, and for the full Priviledges of the ancient House of Peers ; but after it appeared, that they could not make any thing of the Debate, neither of the parties daring to trust the other ; the third party fell in, and shewed, That where the cause is taken away the effect must cease ;

case; and that as the House of Lords had anciently a natural Right to a superiour Jurisdiction, in that Dominion will naturally follow Propriety, and their Propriety was then three parts of four, if not more, of the whole Nation; so it is now more natural for the Commons to have that Superiority, their proportion of propriety being now near ninety parts of a hundred, as by the sale of the Kings, Bishops, Deans and Chapters, with Delinquents Estates, it might be calculated, and therefore moved, That if they would have another House, it might be so bounded, as might suit with the peoples Interest: whereupon they proceeded to the Debate of the bounds and powers of the Members sitting in the other House of Parliament, in which some days were spent, beginning:

First, With making them Members but for life. Secondly, With proving that the ancient House of Lords had no Judicial Power over Commoners, nor other Jurisdiction than in matters concerning their own Priviledges, in Impeachments brought to them by the House of Commons, and in Writs of Errour, more power being inconsistent with the Common Law, which is against Hereditary Judges; for that the Lord of a Manner by the Common Law, cannot confer the Stewardship of his Courts, upon any person for him and his Heirs Male for ever. Thirdly, With having the Members which should be called to the other House, first allowed and approved of by the Commons in Parliament before they be suffered to sit. And Fourthly, In their having Negatives but in some matters, and not in all. But after much time spent upon this subject, the Courtiers

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Courtiers being the stronger party, they most disingenuously laid all aside, and instead of bounding and approving of the other House, the bare question was brought on foot, whether the Members sitting in the other House, as then Constituted, should be transacted with or no; thereby to let them at once into the full privileges of the ancient Lords: and to make it pass the smoother, a plausible Clause to save the Rights of the ancient Peers was added by the Courtiers, which they did only thereby to gain the old Royal party to joyn with them in that Vote, and not with any intent to let in the old Lords, they afterwards confessing, that the Rights of the ancient Peers could be nothing, so long as the Act for taking of them away was in being and Unrepealed.

Against acting with the Members sitting in the other House, as then Constituted, was alledged the inconsistency of it with the Rights and Liberties of the people, which they had sworn to maintain, as,

First, Because they were most of them dependants upon the single person, by way of Salaries or Offices, and so consequently his Mercenaries or Journey-men.

Secondly, For that the Militia both by Sea and Land was in the hands of the persons then sitting in that House.

Thirdly, That all the Chief Judges were Members, as the three Keepers of the Great Seal, the two Chief Justices, the Master of the Rolls, and that it might well be thought, that the Lord Chief Baron would afterwards be accounted as worthy to be one as the rest, and then the people in all Cases of Appeals, could do no more than appeal from

from the Judges in *Westminster-Hall*, to the same persons sitting in Parliament; and that the Chief Judicature being in that House, and having the Militia to maintain it, that House would have it in their power to oppress the Commons as they pleased, and they left without remedy.

Fourthly, That all the Privy Council, the Chief Judges, and general Officers, both by Sea and Land; being Members of the other House; the Lawyers and Officers enjoying Offices of profit (of whom the Body of the House of Commons would be made) would be the Creatures of the other House, and so make the House of Commons to be no better than Janizaries, and Executioners of the will and pleasure of those of the other House. But notwithstanding these, and many more excellent Arguments, incomparably pressed by persons of great Vertue and Abilities, the servile and mercenary Court-party would not be prevailed with, to bound and approve the Members sitting in the other House, before they put it to the Vote for transacting with them, which made the Country-party immediately, as the question was coming on, to except against the Constitution of the House, as having sixty persons in it sent by *Scotland* and *Ireland*, which had no Right nor Title to sit; which they brought in Debate to gain time, as being afraid to adventure the question for transacting with the other House, without first bounding and approving the Members of that House.

With this new started exception (which afterwards held fourteen days Debate) the House rise, and the next day Mr. *Chute* (their worthy and impartial Speaker) finding himself indisposed, and
tired

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tired out with long Debates and late sitting, desired to be dismissed the Service; but the House having a great value for him, would not accept of his Resignation, but dispensed with his attendance until he should recover his health, by withdrawing into the Country or otherwise; as he should think it, and to supply his place in the mean time, Mr. *Longe*, Recorder of *London*, was made choice of. But it pleased God to put a period to the days of both these Speakers before the end of the Parliament, taking away the latter first; in whose room, as still supplying Mr. *Chute's* place, was Elected Mr. *Banfield*, Mr. *Chute* being yet living, though he lived not to come any more unto the House.

The Debate concerning the *Scotch* and *Irish* Members came on, which run several ways; the Courtiers, after they found the want of Law, made prudence their refuge, arguing, That for the obliging the *Scotch* and *Irish* Nations their Members ought to be admitted; to which was answered, That nothing could be more provoking to those two Nations, than fraudulently to give them the name of having Members in Parliament, when in truth by their late Elections, they had few or none, most of them being Chosen at *White-hall*, whereof some had hardly been ever nearer *Scotland* than *Grays-Inn*. But beside this answer to the Courtiers Argument of Prudence, the Country-party argued against their sitting, as having no legal Title or Right to sit, and that without keeping to legal Rules, Foundations could not be maintained; for that otherwise, those that sent sixty now might send three hundred next time, and so make Parliaments of such number and temper,

as suited best with their designs; and therefore moved, that the Members of both Nations might withdraw, and be after (if a way could be found out for it) brought in more legally.

But, the Courtiers knowing that there would be want of Law in the introducing of them if they should withdraw, would not consent thereunto; for being resolved not to part with any of their strength (though after they had served themselves of them, they intended to have cast them off) would have nothing to do with Law or Right; but whereas the question should have been, whether the *Scotch* and *Irish* Members had any legal Right to sit, the words *Legal Right* were by a previous Vote thrown out, which then caused the Country Party (for preventing the main question) to except against the whole Constitution of the Parliament, as (according to the Courtiers own Law) illegal, for that in calling of it, they ought either to have kept to the ancient Law of *England*, or to their own new Law (the Petition and Advice). But to the old Law, in setting up of *Richard* they could not keep, that affording them no Authority, and therefore as to his Election, they made the Petition and Advice their refuge, but durst not trust to it in calling of the Parliament, because that placing the Elections of *England* most in the Counties where the Court could not rely upon the getting in their Creatures, they had for the English Elections recourse to the old way of Burroughs; so that the Members for *England* had the old Law for their foundation, and the Pretender for himself, and his *Scotch* and *Irish* Members, a new Law (*viz.*) the Petition and Advice.

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The first being Chosen after the ancient way of *England*, and the latter after a new way. But *Richard* pretending to be Protector by a new Law, had no power to call a Parliament otherwise than according to that Law by which he pretended to be Protector. For the Title of Protector, and the Constitution of Parliaments, were by the Petition and Advice made Relatives, which could not be separated; so that consequently, the Members for *England* not being called by that Law, by which he derived his power that called them, they were not according to the Usurpers own Law, either legal Members on a Parliament. For admitting the Petition and Advice to be a Law, then the ancient way of Elections was out of Doors, and if no Law, then *Richard*'s Protectorship, and the right of the *Scotch* and *Irish* Members were out of Doors. But although all this, and much more was sufficiently argued, to prevent the question and prove the illegality of the Parliament, yet the question was at last brought barely on, whether the *Scotch* and *Irish* Members should sit or not; and by the help of their own Votes (who were, contrary to Common Justice and right reason, suffered to Vote in their own Case) it was carried in the affirmative, that they should sit in Parliament.

After this, the main question for transacting with the other House, before bounded or approved (which had been interrupted by the Debate about the *Scotch* and *Irish* Members) came on again. It was endeavoured to get these words into the question, (*viz*) *The Members being first bounded and approved of*. But they were thrown out by a Vote, and the bare question put, whether they

they should be transacted with or no; as then Constituted; all that the Country Party could get into the question, being, to transact with them during this present Parliament. And then by the help of the *Scotch* and *Irish* Votes (by whose number all questions were carried in favour of the Court) it was resolved, to transact with the persons then sitting in the other House of Parliament during this present Parliament.

The report of the Committee concerning the accounts of the Common-Wealth was brought in; by it appeared much bad Husbandry, and ill Government in the last five Years; several Offices being Created to serve persons and make Creatures; without having therein any eye to the publick; in so much; that whereas at *Cromwel* Usurpation (reckoning the ready money in Cash, the Armies paid some Months in advance, and stores newly laid in) he found (all Debts allowed for) seven hundred thousand pounds (at least) before-hand, he was now (or at least would be before any money could be raised) according to Mr Secretaries Calculation, two Millions in Debt, so greatly Chargeable had his *Jamaica* Expedition, and joining with *France* against *Dunkirk* been. But it is to be presumed, that the Debt was made greater than it really was, as a means to get the more money from the Parliament, not considering that their Argument from the greatness of the Debt for getting supplies, rendred the Government the more obnoxious.

The Lady *Mary Henry* Petitioned the Grand Committee of the whole House for Grievances, against the High Court of Justice, for Unjustly taking away the Life of her Husband; but Some Members

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Members declaring themselves concerned, and it being the Privilege of a Member not to be Petitioned against any where but to the Parliament, the Petition was returned her with that intimation.

: A publick Fast throughout the Nation was Voted, and a Declaration for the same ordered to be brought in, in the names only of *Richard* and the Commons; but the Court Party, to the end to ingage the transacting with the other House, brought in the Declaration in the form of a Bill, to be made into an Act, which caused the expence of some days, in debating in what manner and form to send it to the other House, for that the first transaction would be the Rule for the future, and in order therunto it was Voted,

First, That the Commons would not shew the other House any other respect than they should shew to them.

Secondly, That they would send Members of their own to the other House, and that they would receive no Messags from them, but what should be brought to them by some of their own number; and this was all the Votes of publick concern, that was carried by the Country Party, during the sitting of this Parliament; and yet the Courtiers, after they had Consulted with *Whitehall*, were resolved to have unvoted, and made it null and void, as envying the Commons so much Equality with their new made Nobility.

After passing of this Bill, and nomination of the persons to carry it to the other House, it came under Debate, what Ceremony the Messenger should use at his approach to the other House, and what Title to give them. *Mr Speaker, My Lord*
Com-

Commissioner, and my Lords and Gentlemen were all severally spoken to, but none agreed upon, the Courtiers haste being such, as would not let them stay the end of the Debate, but the person appointed to carry this Bill (for the Fast) to the other House, going away before the House came to any resolution, was by his own Party advised, to give them no title at all, which directions he followed, and so left the Bill with them, which was never returned.

During this Debate, some exceptions being taken at the unequal carriage of an eminent Member, he was accused of having had Conference at *Whitohall* with the Pretender, as that which was contrary to the Orders of the House. This Charge put the House into a great heat, some taking part with him, as others against him; and as the Courtiers were not only most in number, but also best at bawling, so they made the greatest noise, until they observed undeniable truth in the thing, and then, as the Party Charging was satisfied with giving a sharp reproof, so the Courtiers were glad to have it die.

Some deficiency was observed by the Court, in the Acts for forcing the payment of the Excise, and therefore a Bill was brought in by one of that Party, under a specious pretence of settling it, but for such a certain number of Years as the Parliament should agree upon, whereas it was then perpetual.

This Bill after long Debate, was by the Country Party laid aside, and a Declaration brought in by them to injoin the payment of the Excise during the sitting of the Parliament; owning clearly and openly their design in it to be, that if

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the Laws were not good, the ascertaining the Excise no longer than during the Parliament, would put a necessity upon the Chief Magistrate to let the Parliament sit, until they had done some good for the free-born People of *England* (for such was the appellation then used) and if they were good, the Declaration did not prejudice them, but as the Country Party laid aside the Courtiers Bill, so they laid aside the Countries Declaration.

The Parliament fell again upon the accounts of the Common-Wealth, considering how to retrench the Charges of the Government, bringing the disbursements not to exceed the income, raise present money for the Army by the Arrears owing the State, and other ways (if possible) without laying any new Tax upon the people, which the Country Party would fain have had, but in this they were interrupted by the Courtiers, who brought on foot, First, To Vote all the Officers of the Army to repair to their several Charges. Secondly, That they should not hold any meetings during the sitting of the Parliament, but with consent of both Houses and the Pretender. Thirdly, That none should be in Office, but such as would subscribe, not to interrupt either House of Parliament in their Debates, &c.

These Votes were sent to the other House, where they remained unreturned. The next day the accounts were a third time fallen upon, but interrupted again by the Courtiers, who brought on foot the question where the right of the Militia resided, with a design, First, To Vote it in the Pretender and both Houses of Parliament. And secondly, To Vote the Pretender General, knowing that in such Case, the Parliaments Interest

est in it, even during their sitting, would have signified nothing, and after they were dissolved, would fall naturally to the Protector solely, because no other power pretending to it would be in being; but in this business they could not come to a question that Night, though striven hard for by the Court Party, who was so eager upon it, that when it was desired, that they would but Consult the Declarations of the Long Parliament, and the Kings Concessions thereupon concerning the Militia, that so they might not rashly give away from the people, what the King had granted to be their right, they would not indure the reading of them, lest they could not for shame intral the people after their eyes were opened, which they were resolved blindfolded to do.

The next day, being the 22th of *April*, the Black Rod came to the Door demanding entrance, the Serjeant at Armes, who should have done no more than acquainted the House that such a Messenger was at the Door, acquainted them with his Message (*viz.*) that by Order of the Pretender, the Speaker of the other House, sent to the House of Commons, to come with their Speaker to the Pretender and them in the other House; which the Commons received generally with great indignation and scorn, some asserting with height and passion enough, that they were the Upper House; and so without receiving the Messenger, the House Adjourned until *Monday* the 25 of *April*, but the next day the pretended Protector dissolved the pretended Parliament by Proclamation.

This is a brief Relation of the most material Debates of this pretended Parliament, many pri-

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vate, and some publick business of lesser consequence being omitted. And now upon the whole it may be observed,

First, That though the Courtiers when ever they could bring a question to the Vote, they had the Command of it; yet such were the great Abilities of the Country Party, that even by the strength of their parts and reason, they did for three Months together keep the Courtiers from setting the stamp of Parliament upon any thing, to the prejudice of the Nation.

Secondly, That all that *Richard* had to pretend to for his Protectorship, was a Proclamation signed by some of his Friends, Proclaiming him Protector, his Parliament, or rather the Assembly of the people called together in his name, having added nothing to his pretence, not having in the least transacted with him, and his Fathers Designation not being proved, his Title to the Government, according to his own Law, fell to the ground.

Thirdly, That as the Court had by the advantages that follow the Authority of the Chief Magistrate so packed the Parliament, that the overruling Vote was at their Command; so the persons of that Party were most of them of such servile and selfish Principles, that they knew no Interest but that of the single person and their own.

Fourthly, That all that the Country Party could do (though they shewed such Abilities, Industry, and Affections to their Country, as is worthy for ever to be remembred) was to keep off Slavery for a small time (in hopes that God would send deliverance) without power of doing any more good,

good, than in sometimes getting a qualifying word into a question: For had the Parliament sat longer, the Country Party could not have preserved the Liberties of the Nation many Weeks more from the ruine that the Courtiers had designed; and therefore the Dissolution of them may well be looked upon as a great deliverance.

Fifthly and Lastly, That as formerly in other Countries several Interests have been destroyed by their several endeavours to maintain the corrupt part of their respective Interests; so the downfall of this new Monarch proceeded from the same Cause: For would a moderate Power have satisfied his Party, it had for the present been readily given, those for the Country being so low in their hopes, that they would have been glad of any indifferent terms for the good people of this Nation, for whom many and deep Pits have been digged; but the Lord hath, and I hope ever will deliver them out of all.

FINIS.

